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DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the acquisition of a store card of Messrs. F. W. Bird and Son, of East Walpole, Mass.; and the gift of a bronze medal struck to commemorate the 150th anniversary celebration of Hollis Hall, Cambridge, 1913, from Mr. Horace L. Wheeler, and of an advertisement of a slave auction at New Orleans on December 20, 1859, from Mr. Alpheus H. Hardy.

The Editor announced the gift of manuscripts on Bridgewater, from Dr. Loring W. Puffer, of Brockton; and the deposit of the Isaac Smith manuscripts by Mr. Thomas S. Carter, of New York. He also exhibited a map of Paris, 1780, used by John Adams when residing in that city.

The Editor submitted a memoir of Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, prepared by Mr. RANTOUL.

Charles Grenfill Washburn, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and John Holland Rose, of Cambridge, England, a Corresponding Member.

The Editor called attention to a collection of English political posters, obtained in London, and issued by the two parties now contending for leadership. Some fifty of the posters were shown, illustrating the political questions agitating Great Britain — home rule, Ulster, fair and free trade, land purchase, old age insurance, etc. Mr. FORD gave the collection to the Society.

The PRESIDENT gave an informal account of his recent experience in England while in search of historical material. He had two objects in view: first to examine papers and docu-

ments relating to international affairs during the War of Secession; and next, to discover, if possible, traces of the hitherto lost letters of Governor John Winthrop, written to his wife and others during the earlier period of the settlement at Boston.

Mr. Adams referred to the great courtesy shown him by officials in the public offices, and by the possessors of private papers germane to his purpose. Access was not only freely granted at his request, but copies of the desired letters and documents were given under the reasonable restrictions observed in such cases; but from the enforcement of which he had suffered no serious impairment of material. The generous treatment thus accorded enabled him to obtain documents of historical importance, without which the character of English diplomacy at that time (1860-1865) can not be understood. Applying to the relations between England and France as well as to those between England and the United States, they give not only the official aspects, but the even more valuable private opinions of the men then controlling the political conduct of the two powers. Passing from collection to collection in private hands the story was unfolded in unexpected completeness, and in light of what Mr. Adams' investigations revealed, it would appear that the commonly entertained impressions as to certain phases of international relations, and the proceedings and utterances of English public men during the progress of the War of Secession must be to some extent revised. This is due to the practice of a minister or an ambassador conducting a private and most confidential correspondence with his chief, the head of the Foreign office, described by Mr. Ford in June last.

The richness of private collections led Mr. Adams to believe that in them material will be found relating to the Winthrop migration. The letter of Governor John Winthrop, seen by Mr. Lowell some years ago, had disappeared; but there is no reason to believe that it was lost or destroyed. That accidental discovery offers grounds for expecting similar discoveries when search is thoroughly and systematically made in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk and Cambridge — counties from which largely came the migration to New England in the seventeenth century.

Mr. ADAMS then read the following letter from Hon. JAMES BRYCE, an Honorary Member of the Society, received while the meeting was in session:

December 1st, 1913.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS, — While I feel highly honoured by the tone of the references made in the Introduction to your lectures to the views expressed by me in our talks at Washington, I ought to tell you that I was very far from intending to convey what, as appears from your Introduction you took me to mean; and as I gather that the substance of your Introduction will be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society in your next Presidential Address, I write at once as an Hon. Member of that Society to correct the misapprehension.

1st. It was only the details of the War of Secession that seemed to me to be so far imperfectly known to the younger generation of Englishmen that you could not safely assume them as known. The main features of the War, and in particular the characters and achievements of Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman on the one side, and of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson on the other, are familiar to us and still excite the liveliest interest.

2nd. I hold, as fully as you do, that the Civil War was an event of the first magnitude, and for much the same reasons as those which you have stated with such lucidity and force. What I meant to convey in our talk was that the Slavery Struggle culminating in the War seems to be a chapter now closed in American history: i. e. that it lies outside of, and has not materially affected, the main current of your historical development as a democratic state. Almost the only permanent result still felt in American politics would appear to be that "solidity of the South" which is largely due, not to the war itself, but rather to the policy of reconstruction pursued after the War, together with those aspects of the relation of the white and coloured races which are traceable to the events of the period from 1865 to 1876. In this view you may possibly yourself concur.

With what you say as to the results of the War upon European opinion, and as to the distinctness with which it marks the end of human slavery, I entirely agree. Slavery was, no doubt, already doomed and would have somehow or other expired before the year in which we are now living. But its extinction in North America is none the less an era in the social and economic annals of mankind.

May I add that you seem to me to overstate the amount of sympathy felt in England for the Southern cause? The fashionable world was doubtless on that side, but on the other side there stood

not only almost the whole of the working classes but also, among the most educated classes, very many able and influential men, particularly in the Universities. I remember that at the Oxford Union — the great Debating Society of the University — where there was usually a large Tory majority, we carried in 1862 or 1863, after a long discussion, a Resolution of sympathy with the Northern cause. My recollection is that while many public meetings were held all over Great Britain by those who favoured the cause which promised the extinction of Slavery, no open (i. e. non-ticket) meeting ever expressed itself on behalf of the South, much as its splendid courage was admired.

I am, very truly yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

The following letter was sent to members of the Suffolk Archæological Society and others interested:

11 KING STREET, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON, S. W., 20 Sept., 1913.

MY DEAR SIR, — As is well known, the so called "Journal" of Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, is a record than which none connected with American history has greater historical value. Emigrating in 1630 from Groton, in Suffolk, and taking with him to New England the charter of the Massachusetts-bay Company, Winthrop's contemporaneous Journal constitutes without exaggeration the Book of Exodus of the great British-American migration, than which few events have been more momentous. It covers a period of eighteen years, contemporaneous with the latter part of the reign of Charles I, and the Protectorate.

The earlier portion of this invaluable record is, however, missing. This loss is due to the fact that when Winthrop went to New England he left his wife, Margaret (Tyndal) Winthrop, at Groton. She followed him to America a year later; but, during that most interesting period, the daily detailed record of events kept by her husband, was by him transmitted to her. Governor Winthrop was also at the same time in correspondence with other east of England personages, interested in the Massachusetts-bay enterprise. When Margaret Winthrop left Groton in 1631 to join her husband in Boston, she apparently left behind her the letters of her husband. Certain of Governor Winthrop's letters of this period were in the Carew family, and were then seen by the late James Russell Lowell within forty years. While there is no reason to suppose that Winthrop's letter, whether to his wife or to others, have been destroyed, all traces of them have disappeared.

Two separate editions at least of Winthrop's Journal have been

published, the last (Savage's) about sixty years ago, and copies of it now command £5. The Massachusetts Historical Society proposes to prepare and issue a new edition, which shall be at once monumental and definitive. Fully and carefully annotated, and containing original matter not included in previous editions, it will be enriched by maps, portraits and other authentic material illustrative of the early migration to New England.

In preparing this edition the Society feels that no effort should be spared to recover anything which may still remain of Winthrop's correspondence with his wife and English associates. The historical interest of this missing material can hardly be over-estimated.

As President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I am now in England, accompanied by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, the editor of the Society, to initiate this search; and we earnestly solicit the aid and co-operation of any one and every one interested in historical topics. We are given to understand that you are so interested, and possibly have material in your possession, or know where it could be found. In such case, we most earnestly solicit your co-operation.

It is not our purpose, or necessary to the end in view, to obtain possession of the material; all that is desired is to ascertain its place of deposit, and to obtain copies for purpose of inclusion in the forth-coming edition of the Journal. It is needless further to dwell upon the subject, or to point out that the discovery of Governor Winthrop's letters to his wife, written in 1630 and 1631, would round out and complete the Book of Exodus of the great original English migration to Massachusetts, one of the most important of recorded events.

Again respectfully and earnestly soliciting your aid in this search, I am, etc.,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Mr. SPRING read the following account of the visit of Colonel Samuel Walker to John Brown in 1858:

In looking over my Kansas papers recently I found notes of a conversation with the late Colonel Samuel Walker of Lawrence about his visit to Old John Brown in Linn County, and at a place which may be called for want of a better name Fort Little Sugar Creek. The Colonel was a prominent free-state man in the Kansas troubles of 1855-59, served in the federal army during the War of the Rebellion, first with the rank of Captain, then of Major, then of Colonel, and in the Indian outbreak of 1866 was promoted to the rank of Brevet

Brigadier General "for gallant and meritorious service in the field." Moreover, what so far as our present purposes are concerned is of greater importance, he stands well with biographers of John Brown, such as Mr. Sanborn, Major Hinton and Mr. Villard. All this is simply to introduce the man who told me the story which I shall repeat without critical note or comment. The story as befits a mere communication is brief, and so far as I am aware has never been in print. I thought that possibly this little border vignette in which Old John Brown appears might be worth a moment's attention.

Some time in November, 1858, — Colonel Walker could not remember the exact date, though he did recall the fact that the day was chilly and depressing, — two horsemen rode up Massachusetts Street in Lawrence and stopped at the Eldredge House for dinner. These horsemen were strangers, and attracted attention on account of their clothes if for no other reason. One of them wore the uniform of a federal lieutenant and the other, a territorial deputy, affected a more distinctively border costume, having a Sharp's rifle slung across his shoulders, and revolvers and knives protruding not only from his belt but also from the legs of his Wellington boots.

After dinner the pair called upon Walker, then sheriff of Douglas County and deputy United States Marshal, who had been sent during the preceding summer by Governor Denver to Linn and Bourbon counties with a writ for the arrest of Colonel Montgomery and was familiar with the region. "We are on our way south," said the lieutenant, "to arrest that old man, John Brown, and as we were passing through Lawrence we thought we would call upon you." Walker stared at the lieutenant in unfeigned astonishment. "To arrest old man Brown," he repeated; "that's a very serious piece of business. I know him and I know the crowd he's got together — Kagi, Pat Develin, Young Pickles, Preacher Stewart and the rest. They are not the kind of a crowd that it's healthy to fool with. You'd better let them alone." "We shall see about that," said the lieutenant. "You will see — mark my word," retorted the captain.

Not many days passed after this incident when Walker got word from Lecompton that he was wanted there

immediately on important business. It turned out that the business concerned our men of valor whose eyes were so red with eagerness to overhaul John Brown. "Those fellows," said Acting-Governor Walsh, "are in trouble. The old scoundrel nabbed them, took away their weapons and shut them up. I hear he threatens to hang them. I don't believe he'll do that, but they are badly scared. Now I want you to go down to Linn County at once, see Old Brown and tell him that he must release his prisoners forthwith. Tell him further that the disturbances in Linn and Bourbon counties must stop; that he who has been a ringleader in them must leave the territory without delay, and that if he does n't take himself off, I'll put the militia into the field and drive him out."

Walker undertook the commission. A horseback ride of forty or fifty miles brought him to the vicinity of Little Sugar Creek, where in the month of November, 1858, Brown and his men had built a so-called fort. It was after nightfall and the trip had been thus far uneventful, when suddenly three men, ambushed in thickets which skirted the trail, leaped in front of him with drawn pistols. "Halt," shouted the leader in no very gentle tones. "Halt yourself," replied the traveller defiantly. "My God, Captain," said one of the trio, "I'm glad you spoke. I was just going to *pull* on you." Young Pickles, a horse-thief when not otherwise employed, whom Walker had once befriended when he was in trouble, proved to be the man on the point of shooting.

The next morning Walker was conducted into the rude, extemporized fort. A stone wall had been built across the mouth of a ravine and a small cannon mounted upon it. In this ravine half a dozen tents had been put up and a few men were visible here and there, lending to the place a sort of semi-military air. Near the head of the ravine there was a log-cabin, where Walker found the Commander of Fort Little Sugar Creek, sitting at a rough table upon which a large map was spread. "Good morning," said Brown cheerfully, — the two men had been acquainted since 1855 and were friendly, — "come here and see what I am doing. I'm blocking out a Southern campaign. These dots which you see on the map represent a chain of forts which we are going to establish from Kansas to the Gulf of Mexico. This fort will be my headquar-

ters from which I shall start on the expedition. The negroes will hail me as their deliverer and rise against their masters. I shall strike a fatal blow at slavery."

It was necessary for Walker to interrupt this discourse and turn it from prophecies of a redeemed and glorious future to a less agreeable topic. "I have come here," he finally said, "with a communication from the Acting-Governor, who says that you must leave the territory at once; that if you do not go voluntarily he'll put the militia into the field and drive you out." The message grated on the ears of the visionary commander of Fort Little Sugar Creek like laughter at a funeral. "Would the militia obey the call?" "I think they would." "Captain Walker, would you obey it?" "I would. You know how I have regarded your violent methods. I have always considered them unwarranted. Yes, Captain Brown, I should turn out. And there is another matter which I am obliged to speak about. Are n't there a couple of men shut up in your camp as prisoners? They undertook to arrest you, I understand, and made a bad mess of the business. Walsh says that you must release them." Brown was silent for a moment and then gave orders that the prisoners should be produced. They soon appeared. Good heavens, what a change. Walker scarcely recognized them as they sidled into the cabin. The fine braves who cut such an impressive figure in Lawrence had shrunk into a remarkably sheepish and crestfallen pair. Not only had Old Brown nabbed them and cut short their career of glory, but he had stripped them of their good clothes and given them in exchange garments apparently picked up among the negroes about the camp — garments coarse and hempy in material, outlandish in fashion, rent and frayed by long service. Even the militant aspect of the deputy did not save him from pillage. His captors took the trouble to pull off his long-legged Wellington boots, empty out the weapons and replace them with some outlandish plantation foot-gear or other. "Captain," said Walker, "you must let these men have their clothes. They can't go back in this shape." "In my opinion," said Brown, "they are lucky in getting off with whole skins."

When the trio were well out of sight and hearing of Fort Little Sugar Creek, Walker, turning to his plucked and mel-

ancholy companions, trudging afoot as their horses could not be found, said, "Well, gentlemen, it might easily have been worse." But neither the lieutenant nor the warlike deputy was in a talkative mood.

Mr. WENDELL, in communicating letters addressed to John Barrett of Boston, read an extract from an account by Rev. John Eliot of a visit to the Moravians at Bethlehem, Penn.¹

Mr. SANBORN submitted a paper on

COLONEL WEARE OF HAMPTON FALLS (1713-1786).

The burning on the 24th of October of the Gove House in Seabrook, N. H., built in 1713, by the son of Edward Gove, and a few months earlier of the Weare House, not ten rods distant, where Col. Meshech Weare was born in 1713, — the year the Gove House was built, — removes two of the oldest residences in Colonial New Hampshire, and effaces the visible memorials of two of the families who bore prominent parts in the various changes of government in that Province from 1683 to 1784. Edward Gove was the promoter, and Justice Weare the accomplisher of the recall of the first royal governor of the Province in 1685, and the grandson of Justice Nathaniel Weare was the Colonel Weare who held successively, or at the same time, nearly every office in the Province and the State, dying in January, 1786 (in a house of his own building, in 1738, a short mile from his birthplace, but now in a different town), after carrying the new State through the most difficult part of its existence, from 1776 to his death. He was its President, Chief Justice, Generalissimo and Admiral, — raising troops, commissioning armed vessels, issuing paper money, presiding in the courts and exercising hospitality in his modest house; where he entertained General Washington, Paul Jones, and numerous officials of other States and countries; held Council meetings, issued proclamations, and did all the things that a hereditary sovereign might do, unquestioned in his authority, though sadly limited in the finances both of his State, his nation and his family, and heartily supported by a people rather tumultuous and inveterate in their dealings with political

¹ See p. 110, *infra*.

parties. He was, in fact, the one model official person in the nearly three centuries of New Hampshire history who was in constant activity, until he died worn out with his public labors, and yet was the favorite of his people, though practising none of the arts by which politicians commend themselves in popular governments. He therefore merited the brief obituary which the Rev. Samuel Webster, the clergyman of Salisbury in Massachusetts, gave to the press soon after his death, and which, preserved by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. J. W. Parsons of Portsmouth, N. H., has lately come into my hands.

On Saturday last, January 14, 1786, about 5 of the clock, P. M., departed this life in the 73rd year of his age, His late Excellency Meshech Weare, Esquire, after a lingering illness, which he bore with uncommon patience and fortitude, and met death with as much calmness as he had lived. And this day, January 18th, 1786, his remains were interred honorably; leaving behind him a numerous offspring to mourn his loss, with a multitude of others. A gentleman so conspicuous for wisdom and every virtue that it is not easy for an ordinary person to do his character justice; but it is a comfort to think that it is already so well known throughout these United States, that little need be said. It need only be observed, for the sake of some that knew him not, that he descended from ancestors, for two generations at least, who were men of eminence and renown, and bore some of the highest offices with honor, and to the great acceptance of the Public. And it will be readily allowed that the deceased President was far from short of his honored ancestors.

To give a few lines of his character is all that will be attempted. Heaven favored him with a happy Genius, which was cultivated by a liberal education, and by such other studies that his knowledge became very extensive; which gave his mind such an elevation as few arrive at. Accordingly he was early called into public life and business, and went through all the important offices of the State, — too many for us to mention, — for about Forty-five years together, with dignity, and to as universal acceptance of the Public as perhaps ever was known; till he arrived at the chief seat of Government; which his bodily infirmities caused him to resign. This he signified before the last Election. And such was the greatness and calmness of his humble soul, that not the least alteration was perceived in him, amid all his afflictions, — not even at his last breath. Throughout his sickness he remained the same mild, pleasant, modest, amiable Christian he ever was before.

Mrs. Parsons has also furnished me with a copy of Governor Weare's last public paper of much importance, — his Proclamation for the annual Fast in his State; which, as a document written before the formation of the Constitution of 1787, is remarkable for the care with which it specifies to what petitions the prayers of his people ought to be directed. He had been bred a clergyman, but turned aside early to secular and military duties, in consequence of his marriage with a lady of large estate, which he had to manage together with his own considerable inheritance. This clerical training, along with his later legal studies and practice, gave a professional tinge to his thoughts and style, which were seldom sprightly or entertaining, as were those of his younger contemporary, John Adams. His studies were in those books which Milton recommended to Satan, but which that potentate had no inclination to learn from,—

In which is plainest taught and easiest learnt
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat.

To these were added the maxims and decisions of English justice in the Common Law, in which he and his ancestors had been grounded from their youth. He was old enough in 1718, when the first Justice Weare died, in the house lately burned, to remember that venerable man, to whom his father, the third American Nathaniel Weare, succeeded in those offices of a good citizen, which Col. Weare so sedulously and constantly performed. Omitting the formal opening of this Proclamation of 1785, it proceeds thus:

Inasmuch as the belief in the government of the Most High God over the Natural, Moral and Political System of the World must convince every rational mind of the propriety of addressing to Him prayers and praises at all times; and as religious adoration is due to the King of Kings from public bodies equally as from individuals, and His honor will be more advanced when a whole people assemble and unite in asking the blessing of His goodness, or acknowledging the favors of His providence:

THEREFORE, while the season calls us to look forward through the various business of the ensuing year, and consider our dependence on God for all things, — I have thought fit to appoint, and with the advice and consent of the Council, agreeably to a vote of the General

Court, do appoint Thursday the 14th day of April next, to be observed as a day of general FASTING AND PRAYER throughout this State:

Hereby exhorting all the inhabitants to assemble themselves in their religious societies, of whatever denomination, and to offer up their united supplications to the Eternal Majesty in Heaven, that He would make them sensible of their sins, — especially of such vices as bring open reproach on the Christian profession, and tend to weaken, corrupt, and ruin the Body Politic, — and would graciously bring them to repentance and Reformation; that He would bless the United States in Congress assembled, keep them under His sacred influence, and enable them to maintain the general Government agreeably to the Confederation; that His providence would direct every State in the Union to the most prudent and equitable measures for discharging the national debt; that we may be continued in the strictest amity with our faithful Allies, and that our Embassies in foreign Nations may be prospered for our security from Wars, and for the enlargement of beneficial Commerce.

That it would please God to grant His blessing on the Government of this State, direct its councils and public acts for His own honor and the happiness of its people; preserve us from party contentions, and guide us through every public difficulty; that of His mercy He would continue the great blessing of general health, and preserve us from mortal epidemic distempers; that He would prosper our Mercantile affairs, especially bless our common labors, smile on our Husbandry, order the successive Seasons favorably, and give us the products of the earth in plenty; that with ease and cheerfulness we may support both private and public expenses; that He would incline the body of the people to industry, frugality, honesty and sobriety, and keep them from everything that corrupts and enfeebles a nation; and that He would preserve them from ignorance, false religion and spreading infidelity, and continue among them schools and seminaries of learning, that successive generations may be furnished with wise and virtuous Patriots and learned and pious Ministers of the Gospel:

That God would be pleased for these ends to send down His Holy Spirit into our hearts, enlighten our minds in all things relating to our true interest, and incline us to obey all the commands of His Son, Christ Jesus our Lord. Also that He would so overrule the minds of the Kings and Potentates of the World, that they may be kept from engaging in destructive wars, and may cultivate the arts of Peace, and the Principles of humanity; and that He would continue and increase our present encouraging appearance of the spreading of liberal principles in the kingdoms of Europe, both in

Civil and Religious matters; and cause all kinds of persecution for conscience sake to cease, and knowledge, Liberty and evangelical doctrine to prevail more and more until all nations enjoy the rights of humanity, and blessings of the glorious Redeemer's kingdom.

And all servile labor and recreations are forbidden on said day.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Hampton Falls, this 18th day of March in the Year of our Lord 1785, and in the Ninth Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By His Excellency's Command, with advice of Council, E. Thompson, Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE STATE!

(Printed in the New Hampshire Mercury, printed and published in Congress Street, Portsmouth, N. H., Tuesday, March 22nd, 1785.)

In connection with the burning of these two old houses, it may be mentioned, on the recent authority of Warren Brown, the historian of Hampton Falls, that the first boundary line between Salisbury in Massachusetts, and Hampton, N. H., ran very near these houses, a mile or two further north than the present line between the two States, which was established by royal order in 1738 and surveyed and fixed in 1741. Massachusetts, which sought to obtain all New Hampshire except a small section in the northwest, had then to give up several towns in the southwest, and land enough between Salisbury and the original Hampton to make a small new town, incorporated in 1742, and called South Hampton. The earlier line was of 1657, and was known as the Shapleigh line, from the name of the surveyor. East from South Hampton the land gained was included in Hampton Falls, and became a part of what is now Seabrook in 1768. The Weare homestead, acquired about 1662, was always in Hampton; but the original Gove house seems to have been rated in Salisbury; for Edward Gove was entered as a petitioner to the Massachusetts General Court from Salisbury in 1653, when the fining of Major Pike for free speech was in question. His estate was in both towns, and eventually was all in New Hampshire. Immediately after the final settlement of his estate in 1712, one of his sons built the old house recently burned, and about the same time, justice Weare deeded his house to his son Nathaniel, the father of Colonel Weare, but continued to occupy it till his death in 1718.

Some twenty years earlier, in one of his two visits to England on business of the Province, he had brought two young English elms, probably from his father's native parish in England, and planted one of them near this house, lately burned, and the other a short distance westward by another house of his. The original elm by the burned house, more than two hundred and twenty years old, and decaying, but not dead, was finally killed by the fire. But a seedling from it, apparently one hundred years old, still lives on the place. These are well authenticated instances of the introduction of the English elm in Rockingham County before 1700; probably there are others.

Mr. PEARSON offered for publication

LETTERS OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF ARGYLL TO
CHARLES SUMNER.

Concerning the handful of English supporters of the North during our Civil War many words of generous and grateful praise have been written. Forster, Bright, Cobden, Thomas Hughes, J. S. Mill, Cairnes, and Goldwin Smith, sturdy champions of democracy, are remembered as men of clear sight and disinterested conviction in the midst of surroundings highly unfavorable to such qualities. Another friend of the North, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, who died in 1863, was an important member of the Cabinet. But the sympathy of still another, also a member of the Cabinet, George Douglas Campbell, the eighth Duke of Argyll, though well known, has possibly received less comment and explanation. The Duke's life of usefulness and distinction was prolonged until 1900, and it was not until 1906 that two stout volumes of Autobiography and Memoirs appeared. The Autobiography covers the first thirty-four years of the Duke's life,—that is, to the year 1857; the Memoirs are made up of selections from speeches, publications, and letters, connected by meagre references to personal and public events. Though it is much to be regretted that we have not the story of the Cabinet action on questions arising during our Civil War told in the same fluent and clear-cut fashion in which the events of the Crimean War are related, what is given is full of suggestion and significance. From this material, and from the letters written by Argyll and his wife

to Charles Sumner which are preserved in the Sumner collection of manuscripts in the Harvard College Library and of which only fragments have hitherto been printed, it is possible to put together a connected account of the course which the Duke held toward our contest. Some notion of this course, as well as of the character of the correspondence, may be gathered from the brief portion of it that is here presented.

A fundamental reason for the Duke's sympathy with the North may well be the fact that his bringing-up had been totally different from that of the ordinary English nobleman. He was the son of a Scotch recluse,¹ a man caring nothing for politics, absorbed in problems of animal mechanics, particularly the flight of birds, a deft and industrious worker with tools. Living under such influences, taught by tutors at home, except for attendance at a few courses of lectures at Edinburgh University, and above all endowed with an excellent mind, the son early developed into an eager and independent thinker on matters of politics, religion, and science. His *Letter to the Peers from a Peer's Son*, published when he was nineteen, is an argument on the Scottish church question which displays his aggressive if not militant independence. In short, his intellect was typically Scotch, — keen on all matters of speculation and fond of argument. By reason of his detachment from the sympathies and antipathies of his class, he was little affected, when it came to taking sides with North or South, by considerations of aristocracy or democracy. As a political idealist, therefore, he favored the North because with it remained the national sovereignty. In a speech to his tenantry in October, 1861, he declared "that there are some things worth fighting for, and that national existence is one of these."² And at another time: "No government had ever existed which could admit that right to renounce allegiance to it which was claimed by the Southern states."³

A more cogent reason for the Duke of Argyll's support of the North is to be found in the fact that, through his marriage with Elizabeth,⁴ oldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, he had been brought into a family connection

¹ John Douglas, seventh Duke of Argyll.

² *Argyll Memoirs*. Vol. II. 174.

³ *Ib.* II. 169.

⁴ 1824-1878.

distinguished for its sympathy with what the phrase of the day called "humanitarian causes." The Earl of Carlisle and the Duchess of Sutherland were a worthy brother and sister to stand for these things. No people in England were more cordial to Americans than they, and of Americans the most eagerly welcomed were those who had spoken out against slavery. Under such auspices the young Scotch son-in-law of the Duchess made the acquaintance of Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose book had already "entirely engrossed" him. The pages in the Duke's Autobiography in which he describes his impressions of the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are vivid in themselves and moreover form a striking revelation of the character of their writer. His sense of the social and personal insignificance of the woman serves to heighten, not to diminish his reverence for her as a chosen vessel of prophecy. At the outbreak of the war between North and South, the seed sown in him by the book bore its proper fruit.

Another influence that made itself felt with the Argylls was that of Charles Sumner. His acquaintance with the Duchess of Sutherland went back to a period nearly twenty years before, when the young and handsome American, mentally alert, and full of lofty enthusiasm, had captivated British society. The Argylls accepted the family friendship for Sumner and made it their own. They received him on intimate terms at Argyll Lodge, in Kensington, and had him to visit them at Inveraray Castle. In him they saw a man who was at the same time a high-minded public servant and an implacable foe to slavery, and through long talks with him they attained some understanding of the unconquerable and aggressive idealism to be found in America. Thus, thanks finally to Sumner and other Americans of the same traditions and beliefs, such as Palfrey, Dana, and Motley, the Duke, when he reached the parting of the ways, was prepared, with prompt certainty, to turn to the side of the North. Four years after the end of the war, the Duchess of Argyll wrote to Sumner: "I do not think I have ever made you understand how *intense* our own feeling was; but much depended on knowledge of America. It was the result of friendships, old even then."¹

As for the Duchess, she was a woman inheriting from her

¹ June 4, 1869.

mother many generous qualities, and happy in a position where she could continue the traditions amidst which she had grown up. Her active mind and social address gave effective character to her participation in political and philanthropical affairs; her point of view was consistently not so much feminine as maternal. Cleverness and humor were wanting, but her matronly earnestness was of the kind that commands respect. She understood and sympathized with the Duke's views on the relations between England and the United States, and during the engrossing days of the Civil War more than half the letters to Sumner are from her. They are naturally more colloquial than those of her husband, and matters of international import are frequently jostled by family details. There are many glimpses of the complex life of an important British household, — the periodic migrations of the family from Rosneath or Inveraray in Scotland to London, and the return at the end of the season, the Christmas visit with the Duchess of Sutherland at Trentham, trips to the continent for health or pleasure, the entertainment of English and American guests; or, to speak of matters still more personal, the birth of a child (she was the mother of twelve children), a run of measles through the family, the fact that one of the boys at Eton wins a prize for a "little essay on the life of Washington." Although there is nowhere the extended treatment of personal doings that constitutes the charm of literary epistles, there is, on the other hand, not a trace of literary self-consciousness, and the mingling of politics and personalities in such casual and detached fashion gives the Duchess's letters the vividness of rapid talk.

By way of further introduction to the Argylls, here is a letter written to Sumner just before he sailed from England for home.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, October 20, 1859.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Shall you be in town till the day of embarkation, — or the day before? For if so, I shall have a chance of seeing you. Meanwhile I am about to tell you a story, ending with a request. Professor Simpson¹ of Edinburgh was to have come here to attend the Duchess, and in anticipation thereof

¹ Sir James Young Simpson (1811-1870).

several patients came to the hotel here, to be near him whilst he should be staying with us. Among others the family of an American gentleman came, and our local doctor used to report to us now and then how ill one of the American ladies was. We were able to do her some little service in providing her with articles not to be found at the inn. On enquiry I was amused by the account of the gentleman. He was said to be a doctor himself, — a red hot Republican, highly scandalized at all aristocratic doings, and holding forth freely on such subjects: “but otherwise” — said my informant, “a very sensible man.” One of his sayings reported to me was that he admired this place very much, but he wondered how anyone could breathe in it, seeing that it belonged to one man. So thinking this altogether a man worth seeing, and unlike any of your countrymen I had hitherto met with, in respect of his more than genuine Republicanism, I resolved to make his acquaintance and asked him to dinner; — the result is that I have seen a good deal of him and have got some entertainment and good information from him. He is reserved, “self-contained” — but probably not like King Arthur “passionless”; and I am told that he is beginning to admit that we have some glimmerings of “liberty”; though we may be far behind in “equality.” He seems absorbed in his profession, and worships the genius of Simpson. He has brought over some drugs new to this country, which he says are specifics in certain complaints — one, especially, in which I am interested. Amongst other matters I have been asking him about some of your trees and plants, and of one he has given me such an account that I am anxious to get some seed. It is the *Locust Tree*, commonly planted in New England, he says, of quick growth and great durability in its wood.

Now can you send me a packet of the seed of the locust tree, when you have crossed?

We are on the move; on Monday next I mean to go to Edinburgh, and on Wednesday to attend the banquet there to Lord Brougham, after which we shall make our way to London very speedily. The Duchess is going on very well indeed.

By the bye, our American, Dr. Voris, is an Anti-slavery man, and much interested in you. He says in reply to my question “Who will be the next President?” “That bad man, Douglas.” “Why do you think so?” I said. “Because he is perfectly unscrupulous in bidding to the mob.”

Come, thought I, pretty well for such a genuine Republican — as an account of popular virtue.

I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

When Sumner left the shores of England in November, 1859, his parting with the Argylls was to be for life. The correspondence which they immediately entered upon, — at first a friendly and casual interchange of opinions, — was presently to assume an importance commensurate with the position of the two men in public life. With the coming in of the Republican administration, Sumner was made chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations; the Duke was already a member of the Cabinet of which Lord Palmerston was Premier and Lord Russell Foreign Secretary. Of Americans, there was no man in public life who had so recent a knowledge of English affairs as Sumner; among Englishmen of rank in a position of influence the Duke stood practically alone in his support of the North. These circumstances, and the confidence which the two men had learned to place in each other, gave to their correspondence on matters concerning the difficult relations between the United States and England great weight in the cabinet councils of the two nations. Such a channel of frank and unofficial communication, in which opinion could flow back and forth unobstructed by diplomacy, could not well have been spared in those critical times. As we read these letters today, searching for help in penetrating the maze of British opinion on our Civil War, we perceive the burden of them as a whole to be the haunting dread of war between the two nations. The shadow of that cloud is ever present, now lifting, now shutting down more sombrely than before. Every topic of irritation between England and the Federal Government is discussed earnestly, at length, and again and again. Thus the Argylls' letters are in effect a justification, step by step, of the course of the Queen's ministry. As a member of the Cabinet, the Duke could hardly have taken any other stand in writing to Sumner, but his Scotch idiosyncrasy also had something to do with the matter. In one of the Duchess's letters she replies to a complaint of Sumner's about Lord Napier,¹ the British minister at Washington before 1860, also a Scotchman, in these words: "He is of an argumentative race and perhaps likes giving you all that could possibly be said on the other side, and perhaps he fights your battles when you are away. That sort of thing is very natural to some people." This remark may or may not

¹ Sir Francis Napier, ninth Baron Napier of Merchistoun (1819-1898).

be a generalization from the Duchess's marital experience, but it is a precise description of the attitude which during the Civil War the Duke held toward his fellow-countrymen and toward his American correspondent respectively. Certainly in his letters to Sumner he says all that could possibly be said on the English side and with the address of one to whom the work is very natural.

The quality of the correspondence is perhaps best indicated by the group of letters that fall in the middle months of the year 1863. It was a period of intense strain between the two countries, — a time when old grievances continued with little abatement and a new cause of irritation was added with almost every week, and when the task of defending the British Government demanded equanimity as well as dialectic skill. The facts which the Argylls found themselves obliged to explain or condone were many: the escape of the *Alabama* in consequence of the negligence of the Government, the piratical bonfires that starred her course on the high seas, English protests against the capture of the blockade-runner *Peterhoff*, the tactless comments on the Emancipation Proclamation in one of Earl Russell's despatches, speeches in Parliament that sought to cloud the issue by asserting that the North had profited much by the purchase of arms in England and that in 1861 overtures had been made to the shipbuilding firm of the Lairds touching the construction of vessels of war for the United States Government, and finally the continued use of British ship-yards for the building of vessels for the Confederate navy. On all these points the letters of the Argylls were frequent, long, and earnest to the verge of passion.

The critical nature of the situation at this time was greatly increased by the baffling attitude of the Foreign Secretary, Earl Russell. To the American student his conduct must always present itself as a problem of irritating fascination. Though Earl Russell's hold on principles was clear and consistent, it was otherwise with his command of methods, and even his principles were conditioned by his insular point of view. Thus not all his conscientiousness and rectitude could keep him out of pitfalls. His errors of statesmanship and his frank acknowledgement of them show at the same time his limited grasp of a course of conduct as a whole and his en-

tire honesty of purpose. His manner, too, the embodiment of that British officialism which is so exasperating when manifested toward foreigners, continually stood in the light of his own good deeds. Finally, his first duty was to defend British interests. Cobden, reporting to Sumner a call upon Earl Russell, in which the minister, "a trifle impatient under the treatment," was forced to listen to "every word" of one of Sumner's "indictments" of him and Palmerston, indicated this fact to his American correspondent: "John Bull, you know, has never been a neutral when great naval operations have been carried on, and he does not take kindly to the task."¹ That is to say, the work of the Foreign Secretary was to plot, from confused and contradictory data, the course where British interest lay. Naturally, the result was a zigzag not altogether happy as the graphic representation of a statesman's line of conduct.

For Earl Russell, then, the Duke of Argyll became apologist to Charles Sumner. To bind the two ministers together there were many ties, — not only those of political sympathy and cabinet loyalty, but also those of friendship, for the elder man had undoubtedly exercised upon the younger the personal charm which there is abundant testimony to show was his when he chose to use it.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private.

LONDON, April 24, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I found your letter to the Duchess of April 7th on my return from the House last night. The Duchess is in Scotland; but your letter is so important that I lose no time in replying to it.

I need not tell you that I accept your writing so freely only as a new proof of your friendship; and you will wish me to write as freely to you.

You say that there are no two opinions as to the "*inevitable tendency of our relations with England.*" If you mean that the American people are so excited that they will not listen to reason, and that under the impulse of their passions, they will insist on your Government committing hostile acts against us, then I can understand you. But if you mean that your Government has any

¹ Morley, *Cobden*, 585.

just cause of quarrel against ours, to justify such acts, then I must declare my conviction that there is no shadow of such cause, and that if war arises, the blood will be upon the heads of your Government and your People.

You assign two reasons, or rather, two causes, for this extreme irritation: 1st, the tone of Lord Russell's despatches; and, 2d., the case of the *Alabama*.

As regards Lord Russell's despatches, I don't know which of them you complain of. But I am certain there is not one of them which would justify even an official protest, far less, hostile acts tending to "inevitable" war. Shortly after your letter was written, you will have received the report of the debate in the Lords with Lord Russell's reply to Lord Stratheden (Campbell). Surely this speech will have opened your eyes to the strictly impartial course of the Government and to the friendly "tone" in which Lord Russell speaks of the Government of the United States. When I got your letter last night, I had just heard another speech from him on the subject of Admiral Wilkes' proceedings towards some of our ships,¹ in which he reproved the irritation with which others had spoken, and declared that we did not intend to object to anything done within the limits of those legal rights which we had ourselves asserted, and established on behalf of belligerents. If your cruisers keep fairly within those limits, we shall make no resistance or remonstrance. Can you ask more?

2d. As regards the *Alabama*. I fully admit that irritation on this head is *natural*. But I deny that you have any cause of quarrel with the English Government. It was a mere accident that we did not stop her. And you will now have heard that proceedings have been taken against another vessel [the *Alexandra*] supposed to be intended for some similar destination. But you must remember one thing, which it is natural you should not always bear in mind. Your Government, in the throes of a great revolutionary war, has been compelled to act arbitrarily, and in suspension of the ordinary principles of law. I don't blame you; no revolution ever was, or ever can be conducted otherwise. But we — the Government of England — can act only in strict accordance with law. The spirit

¹ Wilkes, who had been given command in the West Indies, had captured the *Peterhoff*, a steamer running between England and Matamoras, Mexico. The suspicions of Wilkes' intentions held by the English were not unjustified. "I am about to sail with a squadron to the West Indies to protect our commerce there and maybe bag Slidell and Mason again, which I shall surely do if I run across them. It is believed they are about returning to uphold the fortunes of the Confederacy; it would be quite a funny affair if it should happen." *Wilkes to Mayor Wigham*, September 16, 1862.

and temper of the English people is adverse to all Government prosecutions. It is very doubtful whether, if the *Alabama* had been seized, we should have been able to *prove* her supposed object and destination. Now the American Government has no right to expect the English Government to attempt any arbitrary proceedings in respect to *ships*, any more than in respect to rifles, or guns, which you — the Government of the United States — have been buying in enormous quantities from British manufacturers.

You speak of the *Alabama* as a ship in which "every rope, every spar, every plank, and every arm from the knife to the cannon, are British." Surely you don't mean to contend that a foreign-built ship *can't* be invested with a nationality other than that of the port in which she is constructed? Foreign nations are *perpetually* getting ships built here — "every plank, every rope, every spar," — and yet they become French, or Dutch, or American, by virtue of the nationality of those who buy her, or employ her. We sometimes buy American-built ships, especially in the timber trade. But they become British in every legal sense of the word when they are bought with British money, and hoist the British flag under British ownership. In like manner the *Alabama* was built by a private builder *for sale* to foreigners, who paid for her, and for all her fittings, who armed her beyond British waters, and are her bona fide owners, and employers. It is against all reason to talk of her as "British" in any sense which involves the British Government in responsibility — or to say that she can not be a Confederate ship, because she was not built in a Confederate port.

I have, indeed, personally much doubt whether the present understanding of international law on this subject can be sanctioned permanently. I doubt whether a Government which is unable to keep open one single port of its own seaboard ought to be allowed to exercise the rights of a *naval* belligerent. But no such doctrine as this has ever been laid down hitherto; and your Government has no ground of complaint against ours, because we have not interfered in this matter. *You* treat the Rebels as belligerents, as well as we. *You had* to do so, — unless you meant to execute all your prisoners, and make your war a war of extermination.

And now let me say, before I conclude, that I remain unshaken in the opinion I have always held, that your Government were compelled to undertake this war, and have been justified in carrying it on. Of course, the moment a war becomes *hopeless*, it becomes wrong; but I have no means of judging when hopelessness can be predicated of it. That responsibility rests with you. I regard your undying confidence with astonishment. But I should rejoice to see that confidence justified by the event. I can tolerate the idea

of Slavery as an admitted, and a temporary evil. But I cannot tolerate it as the avowed object, and the chosen flag of a new State seeking admission among the Governments of the world. There are many here who hold that Slavery is even more sure to fall by the success of "Secession," than by the conquest of the South. I cannot allow my sympathies to be guided by any such belief, even if I entertained it. I wish those who are in the right to triumph. I wish those who represent a wicked cause to fail.

But in conducting the contest, you really must limit yourselves within the recognized limits of international law. You have no right to expect neutral nations to submit to any infringements of those limits. You will give a handle, and a lever, to the secret aiders and abettors of the Slave cause, if you extend *arbitrary* action beyond the sphere of your own municipal law. You ought not to have sent Wilkes to command on that station.

Pray do what you can to look at these questions, and to make others look at them, in a more reasonable temper. I look upon a war between us and you with horror. But whilst the People and Government of this country will bear the full and free application to ourselves of our own doctrines on belligerent rights, they will not stand any clear violation of the rights of neutrals. In weighing whether any special act is, or is not, a violation of those rights, we shall be guided by the cool judgment of lawyers, not by the passions of popular feeling, or popular assemblies. Do you follow the same course, and there will be no danger of war.

I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

April 29, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I have your letters of the 7th and 13th to thank you for, with all my heart. Friendship would be a poor thing if it did not make frankness a *necessity*. I have never shrunk from telling you what may have been very disagreeable. My husband has answered your letter of the 7th. I entirely agree with him. I am sure our Government would be free from any guilt if war were to arise with America. I believe it would be a monstrous iniquity to find cause of war in anything we have done, or not done.

You know that I think the escape of the *Alabama* was a great misfortune, but has the American Government the right to say so much, if it is true that they too wished to order ships at Liverpool?

I believe our neutrality was a necessity. England estimated better than America the magnitude of the contest — we knew that it would not do to have a ninety days' theory. It was well for

Lancashire we knew from the first that a long bitter war was certain. The United States always resented the utterance of this conviction, and I agree with you that it was not for Ministers to speak it; but it has been from the first the belief of friends and foes in England that the misery of a long civil war was before you, and Mr. Seward's prophecies naturally provoked counter prophecies.

I think the confidence you entertain that this iniquity is not to triumph is in one sense founded on trust in God's righteous government, and will in the long run *not* be disappointed. But it is a different thing to know that good shall in the end prevail, from knowing that the Federal Government is the ordained instrument for overcoming evil. You say this "great wrong shall not be with our sanction"—surely there was much more of *sanction* in the Union when Slavery was protected by Fugitive Slave laws, than there would be if necessity compels you to give up the contest after having done your best.

I agree with you in regretting Lord Russell's remarks upon the proclamation, but I think it was natural that English people should have been much disappointed by the limitation. From the first, it has been clear to those who had followed American politics that the cause of Freedom was really involved in the contest, but it was not so *obviously*. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward repeated over and over and over again that it was the Union Cause, *not* the Anti-Slavery Cause, — and many in England believed.

I think you have the right, however, to be disappointed in the English press and in much besides. But how nobly thousands have behaved of the working classes. I am thankful to have entire confidence in Lord Russell, and I had good hope — which your last letter confirms — that his answer to Lord Campbell has done good.

You do not think I write coldly to you? It would be very untrue, for my thoughts follow you closely during all this time of anxiety and of frequent sorrow. I know what grief war is to you. God grant that this hideous dream of war with England will pass away. You will write again soon. You cannot write to me too freely. I have been looking at your trees, and thinking of our happy time in '57. My Duke has joined me, and is glad you like Lord Russell's speech.

God bless you, my dear friend. I can never half tell you how my heart aches for you, and for many during this agony of your country.

I am yours truly and affectionately ever,

ELIZABETH ARGYLL.

The time must come ere long for you to feel *enough* has been done; — much must depend on the next battle.

The "next battle" was Chancellorsville. After that disaster it seemed in England as if indeed enough had been done. The following letter was written by the Duke at the darkest hour of the military situation, when Vicksburg was only a forlorn hope, and Gettysburg a dawn that no one dreamed of.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private.

BALMORAL, May 30, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I have received your letter in reply to mine and I thank you for it. You wrote after Hooker's failure must have been known, but you still speak 'as if the subjugation of the Rebel States would certainly be effected, and as if it were only delayed by the sympathy which you attribute to foreign nations. I confess that, however strongly my wishes have been and are with your Government in a war which was forced upon them, the probability of such success seems to me to be, now, very small.

I entirely dissent from one part of your letter — that in which you blame us for recognizing the Confederacy *as a belligerent*, and in which you speak of "recognition" in this sense as almost equivalent to recognition of independence. We could not possibly avoid recognizing the *fact* of belligerency. You do so yourselves. You *call* them Rebels. But you treat your prisoners as prisoners of *war*, and how you can blame other nations for doing the same passes my understanding.

I agree with you that "International Law" is often so indefinite in its precepts as to leave room for readings of the widest divergency. "Law" merges into "Policy." But I think that the English Government has shown a disposition to treat all these questions in a judicial spirit. You refer to the *Trent* affair as indicating the reverse. It is of no use now going over that ground again. But I assure you that, with all my warm sympathy with your Government, the moment I read of that proceeding I felt at once, "This *cannot* be allowed — it would establish so dangerous and fatal a principle, affecting the safety of all political refugees when under neutral flags, that we cannot allow it to be even discussed as a legitimate proceeding." That was my feeling, and reflection has only confirmed my first impression. On the same principle, for example, Kossuth passing from Hungary to England, in an English packet, might have been seized by an Austrian cruiser, and carried into Trieste. It was clearly *impossible* for us to allow such a doctrine to be considered as admissible within the limits of any mere technical discussion. I do not defend our own high-handed proceed-

ings in former wars. But we never asserted any such power as this. What we *did* assert, and to what you compared it, was quite different, though I think equally wrong, viz: the power of claiming the service of our own sailors wherever we could find them.

And now let me put before you one aspect of your contest which, very naturally, never seems to be present to your mind. You dwell almost entirely on the *moral aspect* of the contest as connected with Slavery, and you demand our active sympathy with you *upon that ground*. You have a perfect right to merge all other aspects of the contest in this one. Slavery has been the evil against which you have fought for years, and for your hatred of which you have suffered. In waging this war, you, personally, wage it with the desire of abolishing that curse, as the one object which justifies and glorifies the war. You have a perfect right to do so. You could do nothing else.

But has it never occurred to you that the Government as such, your nation as such, is not entitled to hold the same language,— that its object in the war, however legitimate, is inferior to *your* object, as claiming the sympathy of mankind? This is no question in dispute. It is a *fact* that the Government fights, not against Slavery, but against rebellion. Quite right to do so, but *this* fight does not claim in the same degree the special sympathy of the world. And this is the explanation of the fact that many persons in this country say [deny] that the United States Government represents, or is entitled to the credit of, the Anti-Slavery Cause. I am accustomed to reply to this argument thus: "The American Government *represents* the Anti-Slavery cause indirectly, though not directly, or as its first intention. It is fighting, it is true, against Rebellion, not against Slavery. But the Rebellion is animated by Slavery, and the force of circumstances and the political necessities of its position, *compel* the Government to take, more and more, an Anti-Slavery position."

Do you not admit this to be a true representation of the facts? If you do, then you must admit also that your Government is not entitled to claim that personal sympathy which a pure anti-slavery contest would undoubtedly awaken in this country.

I tell you this to explain the position of others, not to explain my own. These considerations do not affect my judgment, because I hold that it matters little *how* men are induced to fight against a great evil. As Dr. Guthrie¹ said the other day in the pulpit. "Was it not necessity that drove the Prodigal to his Father's house?" In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is some selfish interest, or

¹ Thomas Guthrie (1803-1873).

at least some lower motive than the pure conviction of truth, which leads individuals, and still more, nations and governments, to take up a righteous cause, or maintain a righteous principle. I believe it to be the design and purpose of the Almighty that this war should bring about the abolition of Slavery. But I think it quite possible that your Government may not be chosen as the honored instrument of so great a blessing, and this on account of its long and obstinate complicity with the abomination which has at last turned upon it and rent it.

I see quoted in your newspapers some — a few — sermons and confessions to this effect. *You* must have felt this view of the matter, at times. For you have been always warning and predicting to your countrymen the consequence of harbouring, fostering, and protecting this “barbarising” institution. Yet the practical conclusion never seems to occur to you that it may be God’s will — and who shall say that it is not a righteous will? — that Slavery in falling should bring down a guilty government in its fall.

I should not be writing candidly to you if I did not confess that these thoughts do occur to me very often. They do not affect my wishes. Because my wishes must go with those whom I think *in the right*, and I do think your Government was in the right, even on the lower ground of Constitutional principle. But they do affect, and do shake the confidence I should otherwise entertain, that the abolition of Slavery is to be effected through the triumph of your Government.

These are speculations. But they bear upon the *moral* claims you make upon the People of this country. They have no bearing, I maintain, on our duty, one way or another. We must be *neutral*, but it does not follow that we should be *indifferent*. I trust and believe that Peace will be kept.

Ever, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

Meanwhile, as the summer wore on, the issue of peace or war, which is to be felt behind all these arguments, rested with the fate of the two ironclads, destined for the Confederacy, which were nearing completion at Birkenhead. And as the fate of the ironclads rested ultimately with Earl Russell, men of the North studied anxiously his acts, hoping from them to find the clue to the future. Some months earlier he had disavowed responsibility for the escape of the *Alabama*, “implying,” as Mr. Adams remarked in transmitting the brief

and dry notes to Seward,¹ "the practical abnegation of will as well as of power to perform obvious international obligations."² Later, he had detained the *Alexandra*, but the interpretation put by the court on the Foreign Enlistment Act made necessary her release. To prevent England from serving as a Confederate naval base, her Majesty's Government could not act except within the law, and the law was declared to be inadequate! A letter from the Duchess conveyed to Sumner the Foreign Secretary's position in his own words.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, KENSINGTON, July 23rd, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I like you to be quite frank with me, but I wish you did not hope for what is impossible. We must be neutral, as a Government. I believe we shall be honestly neutral. I sent some of the newspaper extracts you sent me to Lord Russell, *not* your letter, for he would not understand your complaint of the Government, and I believe he would have expected you to agree with that particular despatch which gave you so much offence.

He writes, "The newspaper extracts are of no use to me. We do not 'fit out ships by the dozen,' and Mr. S. must know the allegation to be untrue. One — two — three ships may have evaded our laws, just as the Americans evaded the American laws during the Canadian Contest. We are not in the habit of 'condemning and punishing without proof,' etc. . . . You will have seen that the Government did their best in the *Alexandra* case. As to the ironplated ships, there seems to be great difficulty in getting at the truth, but it is said that one at least is for the French."

Now I wish to tell you that it is a grief to those who care about the North, and a very telling reproach for those who do not, that you do not allow chloroform and other medicines to be exempted from the blockade penalties. I know that the same reproach was made to us sixty years ago, but I hope we should not make ourselves liable to it now.

I must tell you that we liked H. W. Beecher, and that he reminded us of his sister.

¹ "For crisp and lucid discouragement, which left his antagonist with a sense of humiliation, though without anything to complain of, Lord Russell's despatches are a perfect literary model. . . . Lord Russell certainly dispersed his curt and almost scornful criticisms too freely to all sorts of powers." *London Spectator*, June 1, 1878.

² *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1863, 165.

One who cares about the North, and ought to know you, said, "Perhaps Mr. Sumner will be carried on to join in a cry for war against England." You know that my answer could not but be very positive, and very indignant. . . .

We wait for the accounts of next mail with intense anxiety. How long must it go on? Mr. Beecher said that, whatever the North might feel at first about European sympathy, that now you are bearing down such rapids, — in an inevitable course, — *whatever* Europe may think. So should I think.

Dear Mr. Sumner, you quote Mrs. Butler¹ about Slavery. Whatever happens remember your Union *did* uphold it; thank God for the loosing of those chains upon your necks, and trust Him to do more in his own way.

Ever yours truly,

E. ARGYLL.

P. S. . . . You do not answer me as to your feeling about Channing. It is my impression that he would have felt the Union almost intolerable after the Dred Scott decision. I know that my impressions must seem often very ignorant, but I like to think I am talking to you. Shall we ever again? I hope so with all my heart. Your trees are flourishing, and bring back what seems yesterday but *is* nearly six years ago. God bless you. Remember me to all my friends in Boston, and believe me, ever yours sincerely,

E. ARGYLL.

When this letter reached Sumner, he was engaged in the preparation of an address on our foreign relations.² In the light of Earl Russell's declarations but one result seemed possible. Accordingly he framed his speech so that, in the event of war, it should be an indictment of England and a justification of his own country. In particular, he sought to make plain to the nations of the world that which the Duke had told him so pointedly was not plain, — the fact that the North, in fighting rebellion, had at length closed in a death-grapple with slavery. Before the speech was delivered, however, the crisis with England was past, though the fact was unknown to Sumner. By reason of Northern victories, of the growth of anti-slavery sentiment in England, and of diplomatic pressure as inexorable as the laws of nature, but principally, one must believe, by reason of the fact because John Bull had at last

¹ Frances Anne (Kemble) Butler (1809–1893).

² Printed in *Works of Charles Sumner*, VII. 333.

discerned where his own interests lay, the course of the Foreign Secretary was shaped in favor of the United States. At the last moment Earl Russell detained the rams. The arbitrary act which again and again he had protested that he could not do he did. When Sumner's speech, based on the supposition that Earl Russell would let the rams sail, was read by Englishmen rejoicing in a new sense of security, its taunts seemed cruelly inopportune. Full of grief, the Duchess sat down at once to write.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, September 22, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Your letter and your speech came together yesterday. Alas, that it has come to this — that you should have felt it right to charge England as you have done in a public assembly. Was the fire not hot enough already? I have been thankful for your frankness to me, but I could not read your speech without much pain. I feel that my assurances are worth very little. I have said over and over again that Lord Russell would hate war with all his soul, — his last speech in Parliament was a noble one, and as emphatic against recognition as you could desire, — but all this is taken no notice of. He *did* detain the *Alexandra*. Was it his fault that the Judge decided as he did? He *is* detaining the ironclads.

The *Trent* story — is it fairly stated towards England? I should have thought my letters at the time were unhappy enough to show that we *did* not, and *could* not, make sure of its being an accident, — and if it were, the right to expect that the undoing would have been much more rapid than it was.

As to the disagreeable cheer in the H. of Commons, it should not be omitted that it was chiefly produced by Mr. Laird's statement that he had received offers from the F[ederal] Government.

You mention the remarks we have made about the impossibility the Confederates have laboured under of obtaining medicines and chloroform, and you say we have done the same. Surely we are not to be prevented from using our hearts and our tongues on this subject because sixty years ago we did the same; that some have been ignorant of our own history is very likely.

I am quite unable to see why your judgment of the French course seems rather more favourable than it is towards us.

You know how much there is in your speech I agree in, but there is much that goes far beyond my comprehension. . . .

But I know, dear Mr. Sumner, that one glorious hope colours all these things, and that your mind's eye is fixed on things that *will* be, but perhaps not to be seen by us.

I am much obliged for the likeness of that noble young Colonel Shaw, and for the father's letter.

I do *not* admire Emerson's lines.¹ I hope you will forgive my plainness, and write to me. I see your charges against England were received as might have been expected, in New York. Our comfort must be in the *South* being very angry with Lord Russell.

ELIZABETH ARGYLL.

It is superfluous to remark that in Sumner's statement of the case against England there was more than indignation. His vigorous criticism of English neutrality extorted the tribute of a reply from Earl Russell at a public dinner,² and the Duke of Argyll, writing to Gladstone that "Sumner has made in many respects a foolish and inexpedient speech," added, "But he puts the matter of the ships strongly and well."³ The best signs of the Duke's sense that England's position was weak are his endeavor, in company with Gladstone, to "stir up Lord Russell" to secure amendments to the sadly defective Foreign Enlistment Act, and his and Lord Russell's proposal to the Cabinet that the *Alabama* should be detained if she entered a port in the Queen's dominions, — a plan that produced among their colleagues "a perfect insurrection."⁴ Though nothing

¹ Probably the "Boston Hymn" on the Emancipation Proclamation.

² *Works of Charles Sumner*, vii. 488.

³ *Memoirs*, ii. 207.

⁴ *Argyll to Lord Russell*. December 5, 1872.

"I must remind you that *our* conduct, when you were Foreign Ministers, was not unanimously considered by ourselves so certainly right as you would now hold it to be. Let me call to your recollection one circumstance, of which I have a vivid recollection.

"You and I had a conversation one day about the 'escape' of the *Alabama* or the *Florida* (I forget which), and I urged on you that, although she had fraudulently escaped when you had meant to seize her, that was no reason why we should not detain her if she touched at any of our ports. You agreed with me in this view; and you drew up a despatch directing the Colonial authorities to detain her if she came into their power.

"If this order had gone forth, one great plea of the Americans could never have been urged against us; and the American claims would perhaps have never been made at all.

"But what happened? When you brought it before the Cabinet there was a perfect insurrection. Everybody but you and I were against the proposed step. Bethell was vehement against its 'legality,' and you gave it up.

came of these efforts, they testify again that in the Cabinet the Duke valiantly fought the battles of the North. In writing to Sumner, however, concerning the speech on "Our Foreign Relations," he occupied himself exclusively with the errors he found in it.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private.

INVERARAY, September 30, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I read your last speech with sorrow, not seeing what good it could possibly do in America and feeling sure that it would do nothing but harm here. You will see that Lord Russell at a dinner this week has replied to it, and I must own that I think your attack on him about your prize courts is not a just one. The tone of his speeches in the Lords has been to deprecate any interference with the right of your courts to decide on the legality of captures, and to repel the attempts of other peers to force ^{us} to interfere diplomatically. He may have said something as to there being no judges now in your courts to compare with your older authorities; and this may be true or untrue. But you must really allow men to have some freedom of opinion and expression on such matters.

I object also very much to that part of your speech where you condemn the expression of individual sympathy with the South as inconsistent with real *neutrality*. No one regrets more than I do the extent to which sympathy has gone with the South; but if it is inconsistent with neutrality to express this feeling, it must be equally inconsistent in me and others to express sympathy with the Government of the United States, which I have felt myself free to do.

You have confounded *indifference of opinion* with neutrality of action, just as the Tories did in the case of Italy. In that war we were *neutral*, and the Tories insisted that we should express no sympathy. But we repudiated that doctrine. I quite understand your point of view. But it is a point of view which ignores many facts, however consistent with and even inevitable it may be from your own individual position.

There are no two opinions in this country as to the inevitable necessity of our recognition of the South as belligerents. The *Daily*

"Well, now I keep to the opinion that you and I were *right*, that the action *ought to have been taken, and that the Cabinet was wrong*."

"The correlative of this opinion is that America *had* reason and right in complaining that the Alabama was received in all our ports, and that so far we were in the wrong." *Life of Lord Russell*, 355, note.

News and the *Star* admit it as freely as the *Times* asserts it. This fact ought to make you bear in mind that you *may be* wrong, — a very difficult thing to remember when we think and feel strongly, and under circumstances of great excitement.

The question whether *as* belligerents, and although belligerents, the South has therefore a right to commission ships which never saw a Southern port, — this is quite a separate question, and is not the least affected by the *Slave* character of the new Power which has been, so far as I know, the first to attempt the practice.

The distinction you draw between a *new* Slave Power and an old one is not logical. . . .

Pray continue to write as freely as ever, and as you see I am now doing. I take all you say, never forgetting from whom it comes, and always trying to see matters as they may justly seem to you. You will accept my letters, I am sure, in the same spirit.

Lastly let me express my sincere delight with your late successes. *I rejoice* in them — may the end be hastened and may it be as you desire, and such as you have fought for.

Yours ever most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

The last letter dealing with the momentous events of 1863 refers to the decision of Earl Russell that the Laird rams must not sail, and to the American minister's note to him of 5 September, 1863, containing the famous sentence, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." The Duke's statement of the reason why the rams were detained is as bravely ingenuous as his protest that the escape of the *Alabama* was a "mere accident," and no "cause of quarrel with the English Government."

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private.

PRIVY SEAL OFFICE, February 16, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I have just received the paper you have sent ascribing our change or apparent change of policy in respect to the rams to Mr. Adams' letter of the 5th September.

That letter might have had the effect of making it more *difficult* for us to stop the rams — it certainly never *could* have made it more easy. But luckily it did not reach Lord Russell till some days after the order had been given. You will see this by the discussion of last night in the Lords. Lord Russell wrote to Palmerston on the 3d that he thought the rams must be stopped. The

Treasury was communicated with on the 4th. I wrote from Scotland before that date saying that I thought they ought to be stopped.

The action of the Government was precipitated by the very simple and obvious circumstance that the rams were so nearly ready to slip out that they might go any day, and then it would be too late; whereas by stopping them in time we at least secured a trial of the law as it might be interpreted by our courts.

I wonder that *you* should not see that any threat, even though founded on reasonable grounds, only constitutes a difficulty in the way of any British Minister in acceding to any request. It would be, and has been, the same with any American Minister.

We all appreciate very highly Mr. Adams' conduct here. He has done his duty well, with temper and good sense. . . .

I wish I felt more secure than I do of the state of our law. But it will now be tested in every form available in the courts.

I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours very sincerely,

ARGYLL.

At the end of the war the point of most significance in the Duke's interest in America was his comprehension of President Lincoln's greatness. Argyll's standard of the measure of a public man was exacting, unindulgent to the exigencies of democracy. His austere ideal is finely phrased in lines addressed to him by Tennyson:

Be thy heart a fortress to maintain
The day against the moment, and the year
Against the day; thy will, a power to make
This ever-changing world of circumstance
In changing, chime with never-changing law.

The realization that Lincoln was the great figure of the war came slowly to the English observer, the second inaugural address being almost the first act of the President's to call forth any noteworthy comment from the Duke. "When your last letter to me came," he wrote to Sumner on April 5, 1865, "I was on the point of writing to you to congratulate you both on the good progress of the war, and on the *remarkable speech* of your President. It was a noble speech, just, and true, and solemn. I think it has produced a great effect in England. Even a paper like the *Saturday Review* speaks of it with a sort of puzzled but sincere admiration."

In the letters written from England after the assassination of Lincoln is reflected the passion of joy and grief which the

men and women of the North were suffering. The words that are most worth preserving, however, are found in a letter from the Duke to Lord Dalhousie, printed in the *London Times* of June 8, 1865. Writing only seven weeks after Lincoln's death, he was here able, thanks to a transatlantic perspective and to an absolute standard of statesmanship, to proclaim with finality the fame of Lincoln. In unerring perception at this time of what Lincoln's name was to mean in history, the Duke's judgment ranks with that of Lowell in the "Commemoration Ode."

President Lincoln may be said to have spoken aloud his thoughts upon every new step he took, with a magnificent and noble candour. . . . As a man, he said he could not recollect the time when he had not hated slavery. As President, he was pledged to oppose its further progress, and to resist its predominance in the national councils. When this policy was resisted by arms, — 'when appeal was made from the ballot to the bullet,' — a new sphere of duty was opened before him. He entered upon it slowly, warily, solemnly, as a man ought to do who was under such heavy responsibilities to God and man. But when he did enter upon it, looking to the great issues involved to the civilization of the world, it may be safely said that no more splendid progress has been made among the triumphs of the world. "I invoke," said Mr. Lincoln, "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." He has had the last; the other is less important, but it will follow in its time.

Two letters from the Argylls in July, 1865, are at the same time valedictory letters on the war and indicative of the subjects that for the next seven years were to vex the diplomats of the two countries.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, July 4, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I wish you would not dwell so much (to yourself) on those belligerent rights. You know how heartily my Duke has been with you all through. You know how great a historian and how fair a man Sir George Lewis was — you know that there were others true to you, all through. None of these thought that the giving of belligerent rights could be avoided — they believed it was a necessity. What can be the use of arguing that it

was unfriendly? I know that there are Americans who believe that the refusal of the use of our ports was a set off to any mischief the other measure did you. We assumed sooner than you did that the rebellion was to be a great one — a long one — and, alas, we were right so to think!

But I believe all has been said that is to be said. I protest again against your supposing it a proof of Lord Russell's ill-will, when it was a Cabinet measure. As to the haste, I suppose there would have been less of it, if the consequence attached to it by you had been foreseen.

I hear still of the strange supposition that *you* are hostile to England, and this is said in America. Those who know much of your indignation and little of your love for England misjudge you. I grieve that it is so. I rejoice to think that you will like the Duke's letter. Lord Russell likes it too! I quite agree with you that he did not understand Mr. Lincoln, and that he did not foresee many things; but his heart *was* with the slave; and he was impatient.

Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

E. ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

PRIVY SEAL OFFICE, July 7, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — My letter to Lord Dalhousie I knew you would see in the *Times*. It gave me great pleasure to have so good an opportunity of saying what I wished to say.

It is no use now disputing about belligerency. I don't see the force of your "therefore" when you say that, because the cause of the South was a bad and even an immoral cause, *therefore* we had no right to recognize them as belligerents. It was a *fact* that they were belligerents. We recognized a fact, and we could not have recognized your own proceedings unless we had done so. As Cromwell said to the Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh Castle, I say now to you: "I beseech you, dear Brethren, think it possible that you may be wrong." All European governments are unanimous on the point as to the necessity of recognizing the fact of belligerency; and you may fairly recollect that your position hardly enables you to judge fairly on this subject.

I have always thought you unjust to Lord Russell, because of little irritating speeches and phrases. Substantially, he has always had a large amount of sympathy with the United States — much more than others whom you seem to dislike less.

I have great confidence that the United States will get through their political-social difficulties — at last — as they have done through the war. But I don't like the present aspect of things. Of

course *here* where the suffrage is not considered a right, I don't feel sure of the negro suffrage being good policy. But if there is any risk of re-enslavement it may be the only protection.

Let us hear from you, as often as you can. We watch your proceedings with constant interest.

We go to Scotland on the 13th, to Inveraray, where I hope we may see you some day again, when peace and freedom has been assured to those for whom you have worked so long and so well.

Yours sincerely,

ARGYLL.

From the tone of these letters it is plain that on two points Sumner pushed the Argylls to the verge of patience. The original granting of belligerent rights to the South and the unfriendly acts of Earl Russell to the North were grievances on which he harped with persisting intensity. No amount of protest from his friends in England availed to unfix his mind from these ideas. By reason of iteration of these points the letters from the Duke and the Duchess in the years immediately succeeding the war may be disposed of briefly. A final defence of Earl Russell by the Duchess, though ineffective with Sumner, may at this day induce a more charitable mood toward the Foreign Secretary's limitations and mistakes.

One of the American papers had an article on Lord Russell which makes one hope that the writer had not read Lord Russell's speech at the Garrison Breakfast.¹ The man would be base indeed who could read of the old man's noble confession that he had been mistaken, unmoved. It is not a common thing to hear uttered by statesmen or any other men, and might as well have made *some* impression. More than that he could not confess, for I always told you that in his case there was nothing but *mistake*, and impatience resulting from mistake; — there *could* not be malignity towards the Republic in that honest and impulsive nature. — February 5, 1868.

Again, at the time of the rejection by the Senate of the first attempt to provide by treaty for the settlement of the Alabama claims, Sumner's speech was harsh in its indictment of England and extravagant in its demands for reparation. But the Duchess, though full of grief, was able to write (June 4, 1869): "I wish we could talk again; I think I could

¹ Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, IV. 208.

make you understand things about English feeling during the war you do not understand and wish I could the more freely explain from our own thoroughly Northern point of view." Still, notwithstanding Sumner's visit to England in the summer of 1872, the opportunity for talk never came. So, in the letters written to him in the last years of his life dangerous topics are avoided, and the first place is held by personal matters of interest and affection.

Undoubtedly the immediate impressions made by the reading of these letters are: first, the disturbing effect upon the course of diplomatic affairs sure to be produced by the increasing rigidity of Sumner's temperament, and secondly, the bravery of Argyll's defence of the Queen's ministry. Reflection, however, reveals as the fact of fundamental importance the Duke's unfailing purpose to establish a basis of common understanding between the North and Great Britain. The persistence and good temper of his arguments with Sumner on behalf of England are earnest of similar qualities shown in similar labors at home on behalf of the United States. In the "inhuman dearth of noble natures" capable of such understanding and sympathy at that time among the members of the British aristocracy, the part played by the Duke of Argyll, both in the Cabinet and outside it, is one that all Americans should delight to honor.

ADDENDA.¹

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, Oct. 22nd. [1861.]

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER,— . . . After I have read something very ugly in the *Times*, I have a sort of longing to tell you how full one feels of sympathy for all you are going thro'. How one prays and trusts that good will be brought out of all this. I trust your 1st October speech² will do great good, — that it will help people to fix their hearts, on the only possible compensation for so much suffering. . . .

Ever yours,

E. ARGYLL.

¹ From the Sumner mss. in the Harvard College Library, by courtesy of that institution.

² *Works of Charles Sumner*, VI. 1.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

TOULON, Dec. 1st, [1861.]

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Your welcome letter has followed me here. We had been thinking of you much in the country about Avignon which you must have passed on your way to Montpelier. But what miserable news has come to us about the seizure of the confederate passengers. It seems to me the maddest act that ever was done, and unless the government intend to force us to war, utterly inconceivable. I won't entirely agree with you as to the odious spirit of some of the newspaper articles, but this outrage must have made the hostile feeling *English* which it was *not* before.

I think you rate the importance of the *Times* very high, but you must know best its importance in America; but such men as Mr. Seward know that it is very often not a true representative of the English people, and it is a tremendous burden he takes upon his soul if he forces England to war.

Those who have long watched American politics; and have seen how surely tho' slowly the Anti-Slavery cause has been becoming *the* all important one might be expected to see that this war might become a war of liberation; but I do not think Americans have any right to expect the world in general to believe that it *is*, what many of its leaders are asserting that it *is not*. As to some high influences, certain electioneering words about Canada have warned us long ago not to be surprised at *anything*. But it is too deplorable, and we are very unhappy. We left England a week ago, when all looked well. We may have to go back soon. Soon after you wrote you will have seen that my husband did his best to make his own feelings about your cause understood. But there will be no possibility of understanding it now. God save us from the greatest misery that can happen to us both.

Always yours,

E. ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

NICE, Dec. 8/61.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — A week ago I received your letter at Toulon, and wrote to thank you, and to tell how very unhappy the news of the event of the 8th had made us. Today, it moved me much to have your letter of the 18th, full of the friendship, which has filled our hearts for you during this year of your great trouble.

I thank God, and take courage in the midst of this terrible anxiety when I hope that there may be power in your hands to turn the helm, which some seem to be guiding so recklessly. Even if your lawyers were satisfied as to the precedent being in point, *you* would not feel

that the nations *could* shed each others' blood *because* the English may have committed an act of revengeful violence in 1810. As to the seizure of Mr. Lawrence¹ it seems to have been on board of a hostile *not* a neutral ship. But *à quoi bon*, this strange act? Are Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell so irresistibly eloquent that we must not run the danger of hearing them speak? Surely this act has spoken better things, for the South than can the *Times*, than any inconvenience and suffering from the blockade — in short, than any conceivable act of man.

As to the suffering for want of cotton, I suspect the North has done England great injustice in thinking that there has been murmuring on that score. Even the cold-blooded in the Northern cause are too proud to dream of breaking laws of nations; — till *this* was done. But even now you — and those who think of right and wrong not as the mob thinks — may stand in the gap, and may cause men to bless, and God to approve.

Tennyson has just written an ode for the *peaceful* opening of the great exhibition. God grant it. Thank Mr. Dana for his kind remembrance. The Duke is to be back for the answer from you. He is pleased to hear you liked his speech.

Ever, my dear friend, yours faithfully,

E. ARGYLL.

FROM WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

HAWARDEN, N. W., Jan. 8, [18]62.

MY DEAR SIR, — Mr. Dicey,² the author of a small work on the career and character of Cavour, is about to visit the United States in these troubled times. He has asked me for introductions: and I venture to commend him to your kind notice because from the spirit in which he has applied himself to the history of that great man and from the remarkable ability with which he has treated it, I think he is a person whose acquaintance you might not regret to make. I should add that my own knowledge of him is at present limited to what I have derived from correspondence by letter.

I write in the interval, not let us hope a trough between the waves, when your answer to our demand in the case of Mason and Slidell is on the way; but as yet we are ignorant of its purport. The *Europa* reports *your* statement in the Senate that there would be peace. If you said so, it can have but one meaning and God be thanked.

I must not enter into the gigantic question of the convulsion now

¹ Henry Laurens.

² Edward James Stephen Dicey (1832-1911).

agitating the North American Continent. For British interests, I could heartily wish the old Union had continued. I will only further say that I am sure you have entered on this terrific struggle in good faith and good conscience: and that I do not believe even it can destroy your greatness. Believe me, ever sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, Jan. 9, [1862.]

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — The blessed news came last night. God bless all those who have helped, and we know that he *will* bless Peacemakers.

It was a strange feeling — to be so miserable as not to be able to look at such a future in the face; — and yet to have *no* misgiving about the necessity and entire justice of our course.

We have gone through great sorrow since I wrote to you from Nice.

The terrible news of our Prince's death met us at Genoa, and we were too anxious and too unhappy to remain away.

Thank God the Queen's health has stood better than one dared expect, this extremity of anguish; but I cannot tell you how heart-breaking it has been, and is, to hear of such sorrow, after a life of such great and holy happiness.

You, who know England, know what it must be to her people, how many of them would have *died* to spare his precious life, how intense and passionate the loyalty (great before) is now.

My mother saw Her a few hours after all was over and knelt with her beside the form which was beautiful in death. She had from the first admired and loved him much, and she has felt this very deeply. Ever with affectionate regards from my husband, your true friend,

E. ARGYLL.

FROM HENRY REEVE.

Private.

62 RUTLAND GATE, LONDON, Jan'y 28, 1862.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — I have just received and read your very interesting speech of the 9th January,¹ and, with due allowances for the different sides from which we view these events, I entirely agree in your conclusions, as you will perceive if you will do me the favour to read an article entitled "Belligerents and Neutrals" in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*. I am enabled to state that the doctrines, arguments, and views contained in that article are

¹ *Works of Charles Sumner*, VI. 153.

assented to by many, perhaps I may say, most, of the highest legal authorities in this country. The difference between us is therefore very slight.

I must however say that you have entirely mistaken our case, as regards the *Trent*. I cannot understand on what grounds you make the assertion at the bottom of the second column at page 4, of your speech (beginning "Thus it appears" etc.). On the contrary these *are* the grounds on which we hold the seizure of Mason and Slidell to be illegal, although Lord Russell in his despatch very properly avoided assigning any grounds whatever. Your argument seemed to me to be addressed merely to something which appeared in one of the newspapers.

I also think that the whole of your argument addressed to the old practice of impressment is totally irrelevant. As Great Britain has for very good reasons entirely relinquished the right of impressment in her own ports by the creation of the naval reserve, it is needless to observe that *à fortiori* she has not the slightest intention of exercising the old and barbarous right of impressment on the high seas. But the old American grievance was in great part that American citizens were impressed by the king of England under colour of being British subjects — and a very great and real grievance it was.

This however has nothing on earth to do with the seizure of Mason and Slidell, except in as far as it may show that that act was directly opposed to all American precedent.

With all you say as to liberal principles of maritime law, I agree: except that you appear to have forgotten that by numerous treaties — those of 1659, those of Utrecht, and the treaty with France of 1786, Great Britain did adopt these liberal principles, though they were unhappily abandoned by all the belligerents in the great revolutionary war. I hope we may all do better in future.

But if the case of Mason and Slidell was as clear as you make it out to be, and as I am convinced it is, how came the American government not to disavow at once the act of Captain Wilkes and declare that the men could not be detained? Instead of that, they were kept in prison seven weeks; you only surrendered them at the point of the sword, and Mr. Seward's despatch, far from advocating the same principles as your speech, rides off on the narrowest part of the case, and raises assertions which are totally inadmissible. In point of international law, we consider the despatch of Mr. Seward as a greater enormity than the act of Captain Wilkes.

We continue to watch with the greatest interest your great struggle, although we don't share your views about the men whom you call "rebels" and "traitors," but who are to you exactly what

Washington and Franklin were to Great Britain in 1776. I think another three months will decide the contest: if the South is conquered by that time, or gives in, well and good. If not, the time will be come for Europe to recognize the Southern Confederation. I think I have shown by your own authorities that such a recognition by neutral powers is not a legitimate *casus belli*. Indeed as all the great powers of Europe will probably act together, you will have to submit or to go to war with all mankind. Hitherto England is the *least disposed* of all the powers (except Russia) to recognize the South. France and Spain would readily do so immediately. They have been held back by England: and I do not think that when Parliament meets any immediate steps will be taken to urge the recognition. But, unless a very great change speedily occurs in the attitude of the combatants, we almost all regard the recognition of the South as an inevitable occurrence, and it is my own belief that this will bring about the termination of the civil war.

We were staying at Teddesly last week and often spoke of you. Mrs. Reeve joins in best regards. Ever yours faithfully,

HENRY REEVE.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private.

LONDON, Jan. 10, '62.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — The news which came to us two days ago has been *indeed* a relief. I am sure I need not tell you how I *hated* what appeared the prospect before us. There were just two things which appeared to me certain, one was that if the act of the *San Jacinto* were defended, war was absolutely forced upon us; the other was that such a war, odious at all times, was doubly odious now.

I write today to avert — to beg that you will do what you can to avert — a danger for the future. I make every allowance for the great difficulty of Mr. Seward's position in writing his reasoned despatch. He had to write not only *for us*, but for the American public, and consequently much of what he says must be ascribed simply to the necessity of putting his concession to us in as popular a light as possible with the people.

But I see a great danger ahead in the principles laid down in the despatch. He assumes, or at least concludes, that on all points *except one* Captain Wilkes was right, and that one point is the narrowest and most technical of all, viz. the *not* taking the *Trent* before a prize court.

Now if this principle be acted upon we shall be at the point of war every week. No week may pass during which some "Con-

federates" may not take a passage in some neutral packet: and all the captains of your navy are gravely told that they will do quite right if they take such packets into port before a prize court.

Now we rest our case on the broad principle taken up in the French despatch,¹ that a Packet running *bona fide* from one neutral port to another neutral port, *cannot* contain contraband of war, and that "despatches," or communications of any kind from one belligerent to a neutral power, are not contraband and are not liable to seizure or detention as such.

Mr. Seward passes lightly over this topic — like a skater going over thin ice — in a single incidental sentence. He says, "I assume in the present case what, as I read British authorities, is regarded by Great Britain herself as true maritime law, that the circumstance that the *Trent* was proceeding from a neutral port to another neutral port does not modify the right of the belligerent capture." Now we believe that no action of England either lately or at any former time entitles Mr. Seward to assume that we hold such doctrine. The principles laid down in Lord Stowell's decisions all seem to me to imply that belligerents are entitled to hold intercourse with neutrals, and that where there is no suspicion of fraud in the destination of the vessel, such destination from neutral port to neutral port, does absolutely free them and their cargo and passengers from any possible construction of contraband of war.

It is quite plain that on the principles laid down in Mr. Seward's despatch, the *Trent* may be seized next week, nay more, that Refugees from insurrectionary countries would be liable to capture anywhere on board neutral vessels, wherever the government against which they had rebelled could catch them. On this principle an Austrian frigate might have seized Kossuth on board an American ship in the Mediterranean: Can the government of the United States gravely lay down a doctrine leading to such consequences? I have always agreed with you that the RIGHT OF SEARCH should exist in all cases, no matter what the destination of a vessel might be, or what might be her flag. But this right is only a check *on fraud*. Does the vessel bear her flag *lawfully*? Is her nominal destination her real destination? or is it only pretended? To ascertain these and other such questions, the right of *search* must exist. But in the case of a regular packet of course such questions do not arise at all: and in the case of any ship, when it is known that her neutral character and her neutral destination is real, and not assumed, we should hold that she is free from any possible charge of contraband, and I am satisfied that the capture of any such

¹ *Thouvenel to Mercier*, December 3, 1861.

Vessel, in any form, would be resisted as a matter of essential principle by us, and by all the neutral powers.

America would be the very first to maintain this doctrine — under other circumstances.

I write begging that you will use your great influence to let it be understood that our stand has been, and would be made on a much broader ground than that what Seward concedes. Ever yours,

ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, KENSINGTON, May 18, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER,— I am afraid letters are things you have not time to write, or to receive, but I cannot resist congratulating you and wishing you God speed on the occasion of the passing of the right of search bill. A great deal has been done; and this is a great event, and one which would have rejoiced the souls of many who laboured for it — and are gone.

I should like a line about your own self, if you have not time for public matters.

We are, I need not tell you intensely interested in all that is going on, and often think of you with much sympathy. You must not, you who know England so well, think it is unfriendly not to be able to enter into American convictions about the necessity of having the *whole* South again, but we are very ignorant about it all. My hope and prayer is that you may come out of the fiery trial, stronger, *freer*, happier than before. I hope we may meet in this life again.

My mother's eyes are not worse. My husband is with the Queen at Balmoral. She is brokenhearted. God bless you, my dear Friend. Yours very truly,

ELIZ. ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private.

ARGYLL LODGE, KENSINGTON, June 12/62.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER,— I need not tell you that the Duchess and I have been watching with deep interest all that has served to indicate the better tendencies and most hopeful results of your great contest. But I write now merely to tell you that public feeling here has been much shocked by the reported proclamation of General Butler at New Orleans threatening the women of that city who are complained of by the troops as insulting them. I trust the proclamation is a forgery; and if it is not, that your government will mark its displeasure at once.

Your cause has been steadily "*marching on*" by the inevitable force of events. I think that whatever may be the fate of the Union the fate of slavery is settled. Yet I see you daily abused in the American correspondence for giving *consciously* and intentionally to the struggle that one great aim and object for which, more than for any other, it will be memorable in the history of the world.

Let us hear how you are, and if *you can*, what your expectations are. I am yours most truly,

ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

THE ATHENAEUM, July 12, 1862.

Private and confidential.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — As your war is prolonged with no apparent probability of a definite result, and as the difficulties here increase from the paralysis of the whole cotton manufacture, there is, and there will be a growing tendency to urge the Government to take some action in the matter, no action being possible that will not bring increased embarrassment to ourselves but also greatly increased embarrassment to you. But under the pressure of necessity men do not act always reasonably, and I fear that the pressure upon us to act in the direction I have indicated may increase.

Surely, in these circumstances, it would be for the interest of both Governments that your Government should give every possible facility to our trade in cotton. When the Southern ports you have taken were declared open it was with the ostensible object of allowing the cotton trade to be reopened. But the opening of the ports is of no use unless you allow third parties to pass up the rivers, or into the country, and trade unmolested with the planters. I know it will be said that this is giving them means and money for a prolongation of the contest. But its effect in this way would be comparatively small, whilst it would greatly tend to dissipate the danger which is really a growing one — not only as regards England, but as regards the rest of Europe also.

We have just heard of the apparent defeat of your army before Richmond. At least such is the construction put on the telegraphic news here. Will it only excite the Government the more to more determined efforts, or will it tend to induce a disposition to concede a separation? We are all speculating. I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ROSNEATH, December 3, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I was going to thank you for your letter of November 12th, and now I have your welcome one of the 17th, and am grateful to the untrue report about India, as it has given me so much that is grateful to me in your letter. I like to feel that you would miss us here, my dear friend. India must never be for my Duke — his health does not stand heat and I never could think of it for him. But I trust it was a false alarm about Lord Elgin, and that he and Sir Charles Trevelyan have some good years of noble work before them. Among the gleams that cross the dark foreground of war the hope of cotton instead of opium growth in that vast land is one of the most cheering.

I feel with all my heart what you say about the position of England and I have felt the lukewarmness and the coldness bitterly. But you will make, I know, due allowance, — the issue has *not* been clear. Those who should have made it clear have often done their best to darken it, and the language of Cassius Clay at the beginning of the struggle, and worst of all the course of Butler, and the apparent approbation of the Government and the North, did much mischief. But I am sure that there are many whose hearts are with you, and no American has written better (perhaps not so well?) as Cairns and Mill. Your speech has I think done much good here. Guthrie was delighted with it. "Let my people go" sounded in his heart till he too could not refrain from applying the old words to your struggle, and I heard him in his church pour out his prayers for *the* cause, and say "and let us *not* taunt them, because they have been *driven* to this policy, — because the President's proclamation was forced upon them by necessity. Was it not necessity that drove the Prodigal to his Father's Home?" We met the Comte de Paris at Arthur Stanley's at Oxford the other day, and were much interested in all he told us. When you write again, soon I hope, tell me about Mr. Longfellow. He knows how many care about him here.

The conduct of our Lancashire people is abundant compensation for all coldness and frivolity about America on the part of the idler part of the nation. It has been very noble, and altogether the way the calamity is borne by givers and receivers makes one very happy and thankful.

The Government had not, when we were in London lately, any information they could act upon about other ships in Liverpool. I think Lord Russell may be trusted in this matter. But you know that we are very powerless in these matters, and that the Caffers were supplied with *English* guns when we were at war with

them. You may be sure that bad and foolish as our papers often are, war with America *would* be felt to be an intolerable misery, and that no Government without necessity — the necessity of Honor — would dream of it. All England thought that necessity might arise last December; thank GOD that was only a hideous dream.

I think I told you in my last to read an article on the Supernatural in the *Edinburgh*, and there will be one on Lord Dalhousie's Administration of India in the next *Edinburgh* by my Duke. Many messages to Mr. Palfrey who has not written for a long time, and Mr. Dana. Ever yours most truly,

E. ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, KENSINGTON,
March 26, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I had the great pleasure of hearing from you very soon after I had sent you my little reproach. It is very pleasant to hear from you, — and never think that you can be too frank with us. Let it be as much as possible, what I *wish* it could be, like talking to us.

We grieve about the *Alabama*, but there was inevitable delay caused by the Queen's Advocate (Harding's) illness. It was quite necessary to wait for the advice of Crown Lawyers, and owing to this illness, it came too late. One must remember that the supply of arms is against the Proclamation, and by the non-enforcement of this act the North has profited more than the South.

I deplore, too, the line taken by some newspapers and some speakers, but you always seem to me not able to make allowance for the haze upon the cause. Is it not natural that those unacquainted with American politics should be puzzled by the Proclamation which leaves the slaves of the loyal, in Slavery? and worst of all, there was *hope* held out of the continuance of the Fugitive Slave Law. These things are puzzling, and one feels thankful that no human statesman is ordering all these things to their great issue. How it is all moving on through darkness and cloud. There are many who hate Slavery very much, who have from the first thought there was more hope of its destruction, when separation is accomplished. I have never been able to see any reason for this hope, but I am sure it is honestly entertained by some.

You will be pleased with Lord Russell's speech; let me hear whether it gives much satisfaction. All friends of the North are afraid of giving a wrong impression as to the belief here. The feeling is against the possibility of subjugation so strongly. All our

history is full of the success of those who fight for, and on their own land, the one exception of Ireland is a very ominous one. There is no doubt that some of the vessels suspected to be for the South are *really* for China, at least that there *is* a contract with the Chinese Government for some ships. What do American lawyers think of "Historicus'" letters? The writer Mr. Harcourt married a daughter of Lady T. Lewis', and lost her in childbirth lately to his great grief. How is Mr. Longfellow? I hope dear Mr. Sumner, I may be out of this world before we are at war with America. The bitter fear of it at the time of the *Trent* affair was misery enough.

I suppose you have no time to read, or I should ask you to read an article in the January number of the *Edinburgh* by my Duke on Lord Dalhousie, and another on Lord Canning is to be in the April number. Do not be so long as you have been about writing.

We are just going to Scotland. Write to me to Rosneath. . . .

E. ARGYLL.

FROM WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 1, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — It is very kind of you to write to me. In the midst of a struggle, which you have regarded throughout as one for the life and death of your nation, you naturally entertain views and feelings which may well make ours on this side of the water seem cold and heartless. The call upon you for Christian charity in these circumstances is great, (as is of necessity the corresponding call on the people in both countries); but you have been able to meet it, and I reply to you without fear.

The power and energy displayed in this wonderful but dreadful contest have been beyond all anticipation and almost beyond all belief. If you are ultimately defeated (I do not mean in the field but in your object), it will be by virtue of a law stronger than the will of man. Ever since the development of an earnest purpose in the South, my opinion has remained absolutely the same. But no good can now be done I think by egging on the combatants from our safe position in Europe. That might be done, I think while there was a hope that European opinion was so formed as to be in a condition to speak with moral force, and with a prospect of usefulness. But the contest has long passed that phase, if indeed it ever was in it. And I am bound to say that as far as I can see European opinion is a good deal bewildered, if not divided. I have therefore only two things to wish, that the issue may come soon, and that it may be beneficial to America, whatever be its form. For an enemy of America, for one hating its institutions, for one jealous of its

aggrandizement, nothing can be more a treat I imagine, than to see your best blood flow, and your public debt mount up at a rate as compared with ours like the proportion of the Mississippi to the Thames. I am not one of those. As an Englishman, I have neither fears nor prejudices in regard to America, and I have ever held that for our particular interests nothing can be so good as the old Union. I grieve over every hour added to your sufferings, not the less that they are sufferings of a kind which will only make themselves fully felt in the future. You will perhaps wonder that I have said nothing of the black race. I hope, and incline to believe, that now, whichever way the war ends, it will leave the prospects of that race at the least materially better than it found them.

But I pull away from these bald generalities to the subject of maritime rights. I cannot presume to form an opinion what the ultimate decision may be in the case of the *Alexandra*. But I think the law officers of the Crown are hopeful. As regards the case of the ironclads, which is in some respects different, and lies more favourably for the Crown, I should venture, speaking as an ignoramus, to feel sanguine as to the application of our statute laws in the sense which you desire.

Our duty to apply our laws without fear or favour is clear. Beyond that the horizon seems to me obscure enough. All that I read or hear on these matters, all that I have read of the decisions in your courts, so much considered here, leads me to imagine that the doctrines of international law, however sound and however little disputed in their general form, are sadly obscure or imperfect in their application to particular cases. It is for our interest to adopt a strict and high doctrine. But whatever we may do in applying our Statute Laws to the circumstances of the present war, invests us with no claim as against other third Powers in any war in which we might be engaged. I do not know whose business it is to move in the matter. I do not even know whether a satisfactory and fair solution can be found on all points; but the matter seems to me in a state, apart from the particular obligations of our Statute Law, and of yours, fraught with the menace of future difficulties for the civilized world, arising out of the relations of belligerent and neutral rights at present so imperfectly defined. . . .

W. E. GLADSTONE.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, July 21, '64.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I give this to Lord Airlie for you. Your letter of the 4th July, recounting the blotting out of those

things in the statute book which have been curses, was very pleasant to me.

How can you speak still of foreign aid abetting the Rebellion? Surely two or three privateers do not cause the "To be or not to be" of the Rebellion. I assure you our consciences are much at ease, on this score, since the stoppage of the rams.

If you *will* judge England by the *Times*, I cannot help it, but I cannot think it just.

God grant that the end, and an end in righteousness may be coming near. I feel your sad words, "If anything can make me unhappy now." I know this war must have entered into your soul. I know it is daily and hourly grief to you. I do hope for your victory, and for the spirit of mercy, of kindness to the many who have fought for this bad cause, so well.

God bless you. Yours very sincerely ever,

E. ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, May 12, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Your letter of the 24th was very touching to me, the first from America since the dreadful event, since which I may truly say I have lived *there*. My absorbing thought is — "Will they follow him in being merciful?" It seems to us that the best hopes of men are centered in this.

Lee's letters to his sister told us how severe the struggle might be between loyalty to the Union or the State.

It was very kind of you to send me Lincoln's autographs, which I shall value dearly. I do not remember what I said of him in the letter he saw.

I suppose you mean Lord Russell as the man who misunderstood him. He did, and it grieves me bitterly that he did.

But you who care above all things for the Cause of Freedom must remember that it *was* impatience for that cause which made Lord John so slow to understand Lincoln's own view of his position at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation.

But I grieve for this. You will be satisfied with *Historicus'* last letter. Do not suppose bad faith in his legal argument.

I do not think you do justice to Lord Russell in his action on the steam rams. All the details you sent me about the President were more interesting to me than I can tell you. One feels sure that the memory of his simple goodness, his unselfishness, his mercifulness, will be a blessing to his people for all time, if they will but listen to his voice.

We may feel thankful that the hearts of Canadians and of Eng-

lishmen have united in one deep lament over his honoured grave. Alas that death should be so often the Revealer of the goodness of such men.

My dear Mr. Sumner, do not think I *wonder* when I think you too angry. I would like you to believe that Lord Russell, if he mistook your noble President erred in judgment, *not* in heart.

My Duke is to be in the Chair next Wednesday at a meeting for the Freedmen's Aid Society, and then he goes to Balmoral. Believe me ever yours sincerely,

E. ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, October 27, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Many thanks for yours of the 10th, and for your speech which I was glad to receive. It made me, I think, understand what you feel about negro suffrage, — that it is the necessary security for the freedom of black race, and of course so thinking you cannot but strive for it with all your heart and strength.

Do not think too little of the great gains already won, even if political rights are delayed. The right to be a man, husband, and father —

Freedom's battle once begun
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

It seems to me that there is much which reminds one of the state of things in William III's time, when he acted as *if* he believed men loyal to make them loyal. Shall you ever win over the men of the South, without something of this policy?

But I do agree with you heartily that *if* the freedom of the race is not secured the bloodshed of these four years will be a bitter thought. Do let us trust Him who has already given so much of your heart's desire. The extracts you sent me about the Freedmen are very encouraging. Our West Indian mistakes ought to be very carefully studied. If it had as well carried out a good work, as it was well begun, there would have been a tiny model farm for your great continent. . . .

You must be kindly hearted to Lord Russell. I would not tell you, if it were not true, that he was never a "Malignant" to America. I often think of your disappointment and weariness with much sympathy. There is only One who can really help to bear our Life's burden. May it be given you to feel this more and more.

My Duke is gone to London. . . . I am glad you liked his speech so much. Ever yours sincerely,

E. ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, March 20, 1866.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — My boy writes very interesting letters from Hayti and Jamaica, that place of bitter humiliation for us. . . . One understands the indolence of the Negroes after their terrible associations with labour, but it is more difficult to understand their breaking of domestic ties, which seems the most hopeless part of their case in Jamaica and in Hayti, and I suppose in the other West Indian Islands. My boy is seeing it all, in a very enjoying, but *thorough* manner. Though, so much interested, I do not feel able to judge of the state of things at Washington at all. I do not understand the *degree* of Importance you attach to Negro Franchise, when it seems to us from old experience that it may be worth very little to such an entirely dependent class as they must be, and the political awkwardness of forcing it on the South *before* the North gives it, seems very great.

Why not urge the abolition of the black codes, the equal rights in courts of law, as the great necessity? . . .

Write to me soon. Do not lose heart, though it sinks at the thought of cruelties done still in what were till lately the "dark places of the Earth." I feel what it must be to remember that good honest heart, President Lincoln, and to long for him again; but this man does know the South, and his reputation is bound up with the fair treatment of the black race, so in spite of that mad speech I will hope that he cannot wish to put in jeopardy the cause for which he has suffered so much,—for after all I suppose no one believes in *Union* lasting if virtual slavery returns.

I have talked my vague hopes and thoughts, but what made me write now is my indignation, and I wished to say again God bless you. Writing is poor work, and I wish we could talk instead. . . . Ever yours very sincerely,

ELIZABETH ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, July 23, 1866.

. . . I think, dear Mr. Sumner, your anxiety not to lose the opportunity for the full freedom of the coloured race very natural, but it seems to me that their social position which *must* depend on the whites, do what you will, is so important that I would not risk that for the sake of political advantages.

Of course if you are sure that it is necessary to their getting common justice, there is no more to be said; but it is obvious that while the North still withholds political rights (to some extent) the forcing of them upon the South will make them the hated badge of *white* servitude, and the coloured race will suffer.

However, it is all matter of knowledge and experience, and I cannot judge. In Jamaica we failed, though political rights were given, but one cannot argue from that case of total failure. . . .

Ever yours sincerely,

E. ARYGLL.

THE TRENT AFFAIR.¹

Extract from a letter written by Hon. Edward Twisleton, of London, to William Dwight, Esq., of Boston, Mass.,² dated London, December 7th, 1861.

What may be deemed a criterion of War's being imminent, is a conviction in your minds that your Government will, at all hazards, refuse to surrender Messrs. Mason and Slidell. I think that the English regard their national honor pledged not to allow men to languish in prison who trusted to the British Flag as a protection, and were illegally seized. The only glimmer of hope is that Mediation might be tendered, and accepted, on the bare point of whether the capture was legal under the circumstances of the case. But there is such a conviction in Members of the Government that for some months Mr. Seward has been acting with the desire of occasioning a war between the two countries (or, otherwise, has been acting in a wholly inexplicable manner) that I have scarcely the slightest hope that such a Mediation would be accepted.

As you understand law, you may like to know some details as to the Opinions of the law Officers of the Crown, on which the Government has acted.

The capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell was known in London on the evening of November the 27th. Some time before, the Government had received intimation that a similar attempt would be made, and the opinion of the Law Officers was asked as to the legal rights of the different parties under such circumstances. An answer was given dated November the 12th, signed by the Queen's Advocate General, the Attorney General, and the Solicitor General.

Amongst other statements, the Opinion contained remarks as follows:

The United States Man of War falling in with the British Mail Steamer beyond the territorial limits of the United Kingdom might cause her to bring to, might board her, examine her papers, open the general mail bags, and examine

¹ From the Sumner MSS.

² William Dwight was a native of Springfield, and was connected with railroad enterprises in the West. He died at Brookline, September 20, 1880.

the contents thereof, without, however, opening any bag or packet addressed to any Officer or Department of her Majesty's Government.

The United States Ship of War may put a prize-crew on board the West India Steamer, and carry her off to a port of the United States for adjudication by a Prize Court there: *but she would have no right to remove Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and carry them off as prisoners, leaving the ship to pursue her voyage.*

The value of this opinion is somewhat increased by its having been sixteen days before any Article appeared on the subject in London Newspapers.

On the 28th of November, the Law Officers gave an opinion on the case of the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto*; which was in accordance with the principles above laid down. They say: "The *San Jacinto* assumed to act as a belligerent, but the *Trent* was not captured, or carried into a Port of the United States for adjudication as a Prize and, under the circumstances, cannot be considered as having acted in breach of international law. It follows that from on board of a merchant ship of a neutral power, pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage, certain individuals have been taken by force. They were not, apparently, Officers in the military or naval service of the Confederate Government. It does not appear that any papers whatsoever were demanded or taken by the captors, nor upon what charge or imputed offence, if any, the delivery of the prisoners was enforced. Her Majesty's Government will therefore, in our opinion, be justified in requiring reparation for the international wrong which has been on this occasion committed."

The idea is nearly universal in England that the capture of Mason and Slidell was *intended as an insult to England*. I wholly disbelieve this; and take every reasonable opportunity of saying so. But it is right to know this idea, in order to understand the anger which their capture has excited.

I also fully believe that when the demand for reparation will reach the United States, the majority of the people will have been fully persuaded *bona fide*, that Commodore Wilkes was legally justified in the course which he adopted; but I do hope that intelligent men will reconsider the subject, and if they are satisfied that the capture was illegal, they will not be deterred from recommending a surrender of the Prisoners by "the fear of being thought afraid."

None of the questions of importance, which would have arisen, if the despatches had been seized, and the *Trent* had been carried into a Port of the United States for adjudication by a Prize Court, have been judicially decided. This is an important point as shewing how improper it was in Commodore Wilkes to take the law into his own hands. The Law Officers of the Crown, in their Opinion of the

12th of November, wrote as follows on this head: "The questions whether any of the documents on board the mail-vessel are despatches contraband of war; and if so, whether they are protected either by the nature of the conveyance, or by the character of the persons to whom they are addressed *are all questions which may admit of doubt and controversy*, and do not appear to us to be concluded by authority; but we think that the decision of them, in the first instance at all events, belongs to the Prize Court of the Captors."¹

The most important Precedent which, *prima facie*, seemed to justify Commodore Wilkes was quoted in a letter of Mr. George Sumner published in Boston and republished in London. This was the case of Mr. Laurens, captured by a British Man of War in 1780, when he was on his way to request recognition of the United States by Holland. This Precedent, however, seems completely to have broken down in a most essential point. Mr. George Sumner speaks of Mr. Lawrens as having been in a *neutral Dutch Vessel* going from Martinique to Holland, whereas the Vessel in which he was captured appears, beyond all doubt, to have been a Vessel of the *American Congress*, the *Mercury*.² It was as if Commodore Wilkes had captured Messrs. Mason and Slidell in a Vessel of the Confederate States going from St. Thomas or Cuba to England.

PENUEL BOWEN³ TO JOHN BARRETT.⁴

WATERTOWN, 9th March, [17]76.

DEAR SIR, — I have but a moment, improve it to acquaint you that yesterday a flag of truce came to our Line, Viz Major of the 10th. Messrs. Thomas and Jno. Amory and a person wrapt in a cloak unknown.⁵ I happening to be at the Commanding officer's⁶ in Roxbury went with him to the lines to meet them. They bro't a paper sign'd by the four select men in Town,⁷ to this purport that as General Howe was determin'd to leave the Town with the Troops under his command, the Inhabitants had apply'd thro Robinson to him, to know whether the Town might expect to be

¹ See the "Atalanta" 6 C. Robinson's *Admiralty Reports*, 440. "The Caroline," *ibid.* 461. Hautefeuille, *Des Droits et des Devoirs des Nations Neutres en Temps de Guerre Maritime*, II. 462, 470; Wheaton's *Elements*, sixth edition, 567. (note a.)

² It was a packet vessel, and had for a time been accompanied by a ship-of-war, the *Saratoga*.

³ Married Susannah Barrett, sister of John Barrett.

⁴ (1750-1810). See p. 61, *supra*.

⁵ Peter Johonnot. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, 303.

⁶ Colonel Ebenezer Learned.

⁷ John Scollay, Timothy Newell, Thomas Marshall and Samuel Austin.

left undemolished. He assur'd them he had no intention of Destroying it, or damaging unless his Troops were molested or opposed in their Departure. They therefore apply'd to General Washington for assurances that such opposition might not be made, being a[n]xious to prevent such a dreadful calamity. They allowed there was great Distress among Women and Children occasion'd by the late canonade, but said there was no life lost, and but one man slightly wounded in the leg. I doubted the Truth of this from their looks, and we have since heard by a man who got out, that it was talked there were some lives lost, and twenty wounded. We don't know certainly what to make of all this, but appearances and circumstances corroborate the intelligence of their being about to depart. However our Generals determine not to remit their vigilance or operations yet. The two heights on Dorchester side were possess'd and fortify'd by our Troops last monday night and the hithermost called the Nieuuch-Hill¹ is to follow very shortly, also Noodles Island. The man of Boston says they embarked for an attack on our advanced posts there on Tuesday even, but were prevented by a storm which happened that night.

I left my little family on Tuesday and hope to see them well the beginning of the week. Yours etc.,

PENU'L BOWEN.

[Addressed,] For Mr. John Barrett In Fairfield. Per favor Mr. Fessenden.²

JOHN ELIOT³ TO JOHN BARRETT.

FAIRFIELD, May 5, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Flattering myself that it will agreeable to you to receive a letter from me during my absence from Boston, and wishing to present my respects to the various branches of your family, I do myself the pleasure of writing. And shall expect you to convey my regards to the whole circle of my enquiring friends.

I arrived here Saturday evening after somewhat of a tedious journey from Philadelphia, which City I left Monday about four O'clock, and as you may well judge was obliged to hurry in order to spend the Sabbath with my Brother. I rode in company with General Wolcott⁴ a very worthy man, one of equal good sense and sociability, but taking the rout over Kings Ferry we were much alarmed with news of Horses being stolen, Men fired upon, etc.,

¹ Nook's Hill.

² Josiah Fessenden, who served as messenger between the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts and the Continental Congress.

³ (1754-1813), one of the founders of this society.

⁴ Oliver Wolcott (1726-1797.)

for about forty miles at every stage. I find it necessary to tarry here in Fairfield, one week to be sure, which will make my return delayed a week beyond my first intention. Your friend Leach may make this a subject of his displeasure and vain impertinence, whom I value as little as the old emission of paper money. As to others of my congregation they who wish to see me will be the more gratified when I reach home. Let the desire be increased according to my absence. Nothing however but sickness or some very bad accident will prevent my returning so as to administer the Communion the third Sabbath in May. I shall write particularly to Mr. Bentley,¹ but lest my letter should not obtain a place in the Post Office (I fear about this) wish you to mention it to him or some one of our family thro' whom he may receive the intelligence.

You will doubtless make it a question when you see me. Have you had an agreeable journey? I will therefore answer you by saying that I would not but have taken this ride, on account of the advantage which I imagine it will be to my health; and I think it impossible that I should ever repent it, even this being set aside, from the very ample tribute which hath been paid to my curiosity. I am disappointed however, in not seeing W[est] Point but the thing was impossible without making a tarrying at least several days which I could not do when I passed H[ead] Quarters going to Philadelphia on account of losing company, and which was impracticable from the course I took on my return. I had the honour of spending the greatest part of a day with General Washington, and was entertained with the politeness which one may expect from any knowledge of his character. From New Windsor we passed the rout unto Bethlehem, where was a scene I wished you to see, and in the midst of the service thought of you and E. Sigourney,² as having a taste adapted to relish it.

We attended the Moravian Chapell (Sabbath Evening) where were assembled between 2 or 300 Women, and nearly the number of men. Most of the service consisted of singing, and this whole company joined in a soft humming accompanied with an organ, two base viols, etc. No one voice could be heard above the Rest, but the whole one compleat harmonious sound. The Nunnery, as they call it, which we visited the day after, is an object of curiosity. A picture of diligence, but as I could not but observe much to the ruining of their health and to the destruction of the social disposition. About sixty or more Girls kept entirely to work without any recreation or amusement, and without any intercourse with Men,

¹ Rev. William Bentley (1759-1819), now occasionally preaching in the neighborhood of Boston, but not ordained over any church until September, 1784.

² Elisha Sigourney.

under the strict orders of an *Old Maid Governess*. Judge how miserable must be their condition! Their complexions are wan and sallow, and discontentment is painted in every countenance. More ordinary people I never saw. A remark struck me when I heard an old Man praise the conduct of our Soldiers when they were in Bethlehem. He said there was no one instance where they attempted the chastity of their Women, which I could impute to another cause besides their love of virtue. For No woman need have a better weapon against Man than her ugliness, and the Girls at Bethlehem are well equipped with *this Coat of Mail*. I must leave many other thin[g]s I intended to mention and not lengthen out my Letter further. We shall see each other soon. In the meantime, I am yours, etc.,

JOHN ELIOT.

NATHANIEL BARRETT¹ TO JOHN BARRETT.

PARIS, 24 April, 1787.

DEAR JACK, — Though I had several times determined to write no more Letters to America till I rec'd answers to the several I had written, yet I cannot let Mr. Breck go without a Line to the family whom I love and reverence so much — tho by most part of them I seem to be forgotten.

I think when you receive this my son will have left Boston and be on his way to this Country. I am sorry to inform you that hitherto my Expectations of Business from America has failed me. Notwithstanding the great Encouragement I rec'd no Vessel has arrived to my Consignation, but Captain Coffin and 100 hds. Tobacco from my friend Codman. Let me beg you to use your Influence, and that of such persons as you can interest in my behalf, to promote an Establishment, which has been attended with much Expense and Trouble, but must finally receive its support, from your side of the water.

The English Court having absolutely forbid the landing in England [of] Oil, Bone, fish and spermaceti, these articles must come to this Kingdom.

I should imagine that this piece of revenge against our particular State, must irritate the Inhabitants against the British Commerce, and turn their attention more to this Nation, which holds out its arms to receive them, and offers greater Advantages to their Commerce, than that of any other nation.

In the Treaty of Commerce with England, that Country is to be treated as the most favoured *European* Nation; but any peculiar

¹ (1743-1793); married (1) Mary Hunt; (2) Hannah, widow of General MacDougall. Was the first American consul at Rouen, France.

favours granted to our Trade, will have no effect with them, and this Clause is purposely made.

The present Ministers are in the highest Degree, favourable to every project for promoting the Commerce of America. I wish to see the same disposition take place with you. Most articles of American produce are higher here than in England — in particular Virginia Tobacco, Rice, pott and pearl Ash.

It is in Agitation, to grant another free port to our Trade, vizt, Honfleur, which as it commands the entrance of this River, will be the most beneficial port in France, being convenient, for transportation to England, or any port in Europe, if the sales are not more advantageous here. I shall as soon as we have compleated this matter, establish myself there. In the mean time Vessells stopping at Havre may know the state of the markets, and sell either there or at Rouen, and at both places are Houses established with whom I am connected. Also at L'Orient, Vessells or Goods consign'd to the Order of Mess. Le Couteulx & Co., Paris, will be received, and sold on the most advantageous terms.

I shall expect when Gerrish arrives, to have Letters from every branch of the family, and all those friends who have not totally discarded me. I have been very unhappy in having Mrs. Barrett sick ever since we left Boston.

She is now confined to her chamber, her complaint a stoppage of Breath, violent pain in the stomach and cough. I have an excellent physician, who has acted in that capacity for thirty years to the English Embassadors here. He has retired from business, but only visits me from his partial regard to America — he was an intimate friend of Doctor Franklin. He tells me that air and exercise will remove her complaints, as the season advances, that she can use them.

Let me have a full account of the state of politicks with you, and likewise from time to time, the clashes that happen among people in Trade. I hope that our Commerce will some time or other get on a respectable footing, but this never can be, until more force is in the Government, and the regulations of Trade fixed in one channel. . . .

Yours Sincerely,

NAT. BARRETT.

Tell Brother Sam ¹ and Mr. Hill ² that I am living and in France. If Gerrish is not gone, tell him, if he comes by New York, to call on Mr. St. John de Crèvecoeur, in my name, by no means to omit it.

¹ Samuel Barrett (1738-1798), who married (1) Mary Clarke, daughter of Richard Clarke, merchant, and sister of Mrs. John Singleton Copley; (2) Elizabeth Salisbury, of Boston.

² Henry Hill (1737-1828), who married Ann Barrett, a sister of John Barrett.

I am under great obligations to this good Friend, for his particular attention to Nat, and doubt not his shewing the same to Gerrish.

Mr. St. John goes out in this packet. Please to deliver the inclosed as soon as possible.

THOMAS FLETCHER¹ TO JOHN BARRETT.

ST. CROIX, July 12th, 1788.

DEAR BROTHER JOHNNY, — I received yours of 10th December last per Captain Haynes, and an other some time before April 7th, for both o' which I am much obliged to you. I have been more backward in writing my Friends since my repeated misfortunes than ever, but my affection for them has not abated one ace I assure you.

I was on the verge of coming home in the year 1785, when the hurricane came and disappointed all my hopes; and altho' it was very discouraging to fall from so pretty an income, £500 ster: as I had in Rents per annum, to nothing at all; having only two houses left and those not very tennantable, which bro't me in only thirty dollars per month, yet I plucked up Courage and collected my scattered fragments, and by my industry and economy with the small rent I received I repaired my shattered works, which, with a small sum of eight or ten hundred pieces of 8/8 would bring me in a hundred Joes per annum: this, my dear brother is my apology together with six months confinement by a severe fit of the Rheumatism, which emaciated me to a mere skeleton and sunk my spirits to such a degree that I was not much concerned whether I lived or died; but I thank God who has again restored me to rather better health than I ever enjoyed, having not only a good appetite but digestion, which I think has added *flesh* to my bones and now mediates betwixt *Skin and Bones*, which were at war before. In the strength of which I shall proceed in the way of duty, and do my best to repair my houses for Rent and for Sale; and am seriously determined to make tryal of a Vendue, and by *Hook or by Crook* bring or send my dear Mother Barrett² all I can; Heaven and happiness is not more my Wish, or will be more my Endeavour than to effect the relief of my Friends: But I believe you are all sinners as well as I, if not in the same degree, the lord have mercy on us, and on me in particular, (as the poor negro expressed himself in prayer) "*a poor Black Sun mur Bitch*:" This speech once made your good Mamma laugh, at a time when nothing else would; give my most dutiful affection and esteem to her and tell her I long to

¹ Mentioned in Wallcut's list of the class entering the South Latin School in 1766. *Proceedings*, xvii. 217. He married Sarah, sister of John Barrett.

² Sarah (Gerrish) Barrett, wife of John Barrett (1708-1786).

see her and flatter myself I shall again make her smile with my nonsense, and that very soon.

I have not rec'd a farthing of M. Hanners, who is at St. Martins, but shall apply to him should I go thither: nor did I think it worth while to send a power to my Nephew lest that should prove like your other adventures Out P: into the F: ¹ I will write him in a few days: tho' there was a report that he was dead.

Capt. Hammet ² need not be under any apprehensions of his notes falling into any other hands; for if I did not send it to your Father, as I am perswaded I did, it is *lost* in the hurricane: or so hid among a multitude of Papers that Old Nicho: can never find it; he should have paid you the interest, as 'twas money lent and which he promised to give Father Barret as soon as he gat home. He was mistaken as to any Callico remaining unsold. Henry Gandys Account inclosed amounting the 18 ps: to ps: 287: 2: 1½ as he settled with me in the year 1774.

I am sorry that brother Nat: has lost his Wife, but I never thought her l-o-n-g lived. pray remember me to him when you write him, and to Bowen, to Brother S[am] B[arrett], brother Cunningham ³ and brother Hammatt, brother Hill, and their connections, yea, to every enquiring friend, relative and neighbour; and to Ned Green and wife, E Storer, Esq. and wife etc. etc. and believe me to be, dear brother John, with the same truth and sincerity I ever professed my self to be, Your Affectionate Friend, etc.

THOMAS FLETCHER.

P. S. I fear you have not, did your Father ever receive any thing of Capt. Layton for a *trunk* of R: Linnens I sent to Virginia, who was (as I heard) cast away on that shore; but young P: Crequi, a passenger, assured me it was saved, in A. Wells or Hayn's employ.

Or did he receive anything of one Captain Field or B: Cushing, from Providence, by whom I sent Cloathing amounting 241 ps. 8/8.

Or did he receive anything o' Thos Williams of Camden, N. Caro: by an Acct. Sales of an adventure in 1779 with net Pro: £1051:10½?

Or did he receive any thing of Thos & Henry Brown of Portsmo. Virginia, for an adventure per Ephraim Misservey, 1778, cost about 100 ps.?

Or did he receive anything of Rob: Taylor & Co., Smithfield, Virginia, for an adventure in 1778, per Schooner *Kitty Taylor*, Timo Coffin, cost 239 ps. 8/8?

¹ Out of pot into the fire?

² Probably Benjamin Hammett (1746-1829), who married John Barrett's sister, Mary.

³ William Cunningham, who married Elizabeth Barrett, sister of John Barrett.

I sent him a hhd. Rum per Captain Gardner in Brig: *Brittania*, Oliver Gardner, March 22, 1779, who was taken as he told me.

I sent also, a Brigantine *Lydia* amounting to 3000 ps. 8/8 in 1778, one Jeremiah Guild, Master, taken off Bermuda by the *Maidstone* Man-of-War, Captain Gardiner, Commander for G-dsake what can a man do more? !!!

JOHN FENNO¹ TO JOHN BARRETT.

NEW YORK, July 26, 1789.

MY OLD FRIEND, — Was it in my power, I would suggest an apology for your silence. Six months have not produced a line from you — you who have it so abundantly in your power to shorten as it were the distance between this and Boston; and to abate in a good degree, the variety of disagreeable reflections which obtrude themselves upon me, maugre all my engagements, and the novelty of my situation. I expected now and then a line from you. No person could have entered more fully into my feelings by a variety of domestic details and occurrences, which no circumstances will ever render indifferent to me. I have frequently had the pleasure of hearing from you, and Mrs. Fenno informed me of your friendly calls upon her, for which receive my thanks — but never to write me! I however forbear. How is it with you? how is it with the Circle at Crockers? how are parties? what is the situation of things in Boston? in Massachusetts? Will Congress have due respect paid to their Laws? Who are the present Demagogues? Do any of them mean to make opposition to federal measures a *round* in the Ladder of popularity? Who are they? Are there any young Sprouts coming forward in the political world that will make an eclat? What is your opinion of Titles? Of Congressional debates and proceedings?

¹ John Fenno was born in Boston and served as secretary to General Artemas Ward in 1775. The society possesses his ms. Orderly Books from April 20 to September 6, 1775. He established the *Gazette of the United States* in New York in 1789, the first issue appearing September 15; and removed to Philadelphia with Congress in 1790. His journal was recognized as the leading federal newspaper and the organ of the administration. In September, 1789, Samuel Davis, of Plymouth, Mass., passed through New York, and visited Federal Hall, where Congress held its sessions. Here he met Fenno in the gallery, who pointed out to him the members as they sat. He was taking the debates for publication, but that morning nothing of importance was being done, and Fenno showed pleasure in seeing Davis because, though unknown to him, he came from Massachusetts. Fenno was carried off by the fever in 1798 and was succeeded in the management of the newspaper by his son John Ward Fenno. Under his lead the journal turned against the Adams mission to France. *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, II.430. Mary Eliza, only daughter of John Fenno, married Gulian C. Verplanck, of New York. *Proceedings*, XI. 23.

Of the Government so far as they have proceeded? and lastly I want your *advice, counsel, and opinion* upon the Gazette of the United States — 600 Subscribers, about one third only of the requisite number.

My Compliments to the Gentlemen at Crockers, and all enquiring friends. Any news from Mr. Jones? My respects to Mr. Burgess. How stands trade and commerce? who breaks? and who are the nabobs? What is the issue of Bruce & Sears' matter? Don't say you have no subject to write upon. Accept Mrs. Fenno's compliments, and the best wishes for your Happiness of Your friend and humble Servant,

JOHN FENNO.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER, RHODES, and SANBORN, and by Mr. WINSHIP, a Corresponding Member.

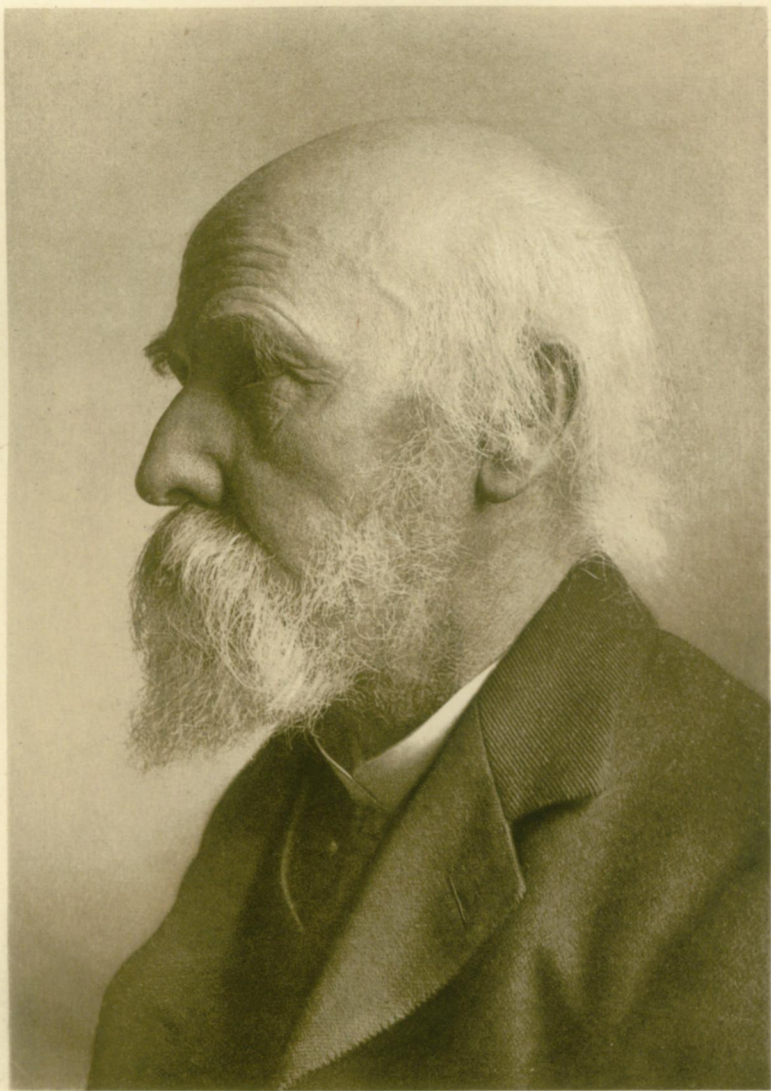
MEMOIR

OF

HENRY FITZ-GILBERT WATERS.

By ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

It is a sad privilege to be permitted to say a word in memory of my townsman and life-long friend, Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters. He was my junior by ten months. He was born at Salem, in one of those fine, square, three-story brick dwellings, often overlooking the harbor and the shipping, — built in the prosperous commercial period, and thought to have been modelled after the official residences provided by the British Government for its civil servants in India. His father, Joseph Gilbert Waters, also born there in 1796, was a Harvard graduate of 1816, and a man of note. Towards the end of his career, he was for many years the trial-justice of the District Court of Southern Essex, and, for years before that, a special justice, and a member of the bar of Essex when that body counted on its distinguished roll such names as Saltonstall, Merrill, Choate, King and the brothers Lord. He read law with John Pickering. He was, at its foundation in 1823, the responsible editor of the *Salem Observer*, and he made his facile pen of service to his townsmen in other ways. He sat in the State Senate for 1835. He was secretary of the Essex Historical Society for twenty-one years before it was merged, in 1848, in the Essex Institute. Dr. Henry Wheatland pays tribute to his “versatile and extensive knowledge of English literature and history.” Contributions to local history, — among them being the best extant life of Parson Wil-



Very Truly Yours
Henry F. Orant

liam Bentley whose parishioner he was in youth, — survive to keep his memory green. He married, in 1825, Eliza Greenleaf, a daughter of Captain Penn Townsend, a worthy representative of one of the most conspicuous of Colonial and Provincial families, and he died at a ripe age in 1878. Besides the antiquary, he left other children, — one of them a son whose idiosyncrasies, not yet forgotten, won him a place in the famous preface of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." Judge Waters was entering upon his career at the period of the White murder trials, and acted as secretary of the Vigilance Committee which unearthed the secret of that startling crime. Largely through his personal activity was traced the source of a blackmailing letter sent to the suspected parties, and a Maine state-prison convict, fully conversant with the plot, was brought to the witness-stand at Salem, to draw from Webster the famous declaration that Truth was Truth, though it come from the bottom of Hell.

The subject of this memoir was born, March 29, 1833, and, under the excellent tuition of Oliver Carlton, was prepared for Harvard, where he was graduated in 1855, receiving her honorary A. M. in 1885. Both on his father's and his mother's side he was connected with some of the best sea-faring stock which once made Salem and her ship-masters the boast of Essex County, if not of New England. Of his father's origin, a word later. His mother's family, among the best-known people of their day, as witness Sewall's *Diary*, had filled almost every high, local function, whether civil, military, or social. But his career began a little too late to enroll him among the toilers of the sea, albeit he was a playmate of Frederick Townsend Ward and of other sturdy, down-in-town youngsters in their harbor-boating and in their deep-water ventures. During his college life he had taught a District School at Northborough, and on looking about for a profession he turned to teaching in Salem as a possible resource, for there his rank at Cambridge had recommended him to favor. He first established a private, preparatory school to succeed that of Master Carlton who had moved away, and after some years of success, and the rugged discipline of the War, he became later clerk of the School Board and superintendent of the public schools of Salem. But nothing could wean him from his inborn love of

archæological research. He began, in 1880, printing his results in the publications of the Essex Institute which body he had joined ten years before. And when the Historic-Genealogical Society, under the lead of our late associate, John T. Hassam, raised a substantial fund pledged to the support of an agent for the investigation of English records relating to Colonial America not heretofore explored, and its choice fell upon him, he accepted the tempting proposal and lost no time in entering upon the work.

This sort of work, however faithfully pursued and widely extended, has little significance for the general public, and would not have been likely to bring him into special notice. Singularly enough, his wide repute rests almost wholly on researches the pursuit of which was a departure from his accepted and long-practiced methods. The light he has been able to throw upon the little-known connections of the Washington and the Harvard families has brought him fame, while no amount of delving in musty archives for what they might possibly conceal, would have served him better than to bury him out of sight.

On his first English pilgrimage, furnished with a generous purse of money, his one impulse was to make it last. Accordingly, when he should have ridden he walked. When he should have eaten he abstained. When he should have slept he worked. And this self-abnegation could lead to but one result. His classmate and comrade-in-arms and close personal friend, Dr. Emerson, found him a little later at his lodgings at Greenwich on the verge of collapse, and, by virtue of his professional authority and of his life-long attachment, brought him promptly home, built up his shattered health, and sent him back with sounder views of the limits of physical endurance.

For his chosen work the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, preserved in great mass at Somerset House, proved most alluring, and while Waters often said that the Essex County Court House at Salem, with its Probate Office and Registry of Deeds, was the place of all others where he liked to delve, he spent many happy days in this vast repository of English wills and deeds, leaving behind him there a delightful memory amongst those who shared his toil. In 1903, on my visiting, when he was no longer there, this well-nigh

monastic retreat, the courtesies of the place were amply extended to me on his account, and I found there a score of his co-laborers, cherishing their kindly recollections of the man, kept fresh by an excellent pen-and-ink likeness of him drawn by the hand of one of their number.

A good deal had been learned by Mr. Sparks, Colonel Chester, and others, of Washington's origin and family connections, before Mr. Waters took up the search in 1883. Much of what Washington himself supposed he knew proved to be misleading. Even the old Country was beginning to concern itself in a topic no longer of purely American interest, as I learned when attending, in 1879, a Washington birthday-dinner, given by the English-speaking colony of Geneva, and when among the speakers was an octogenarian British civil-servant, who had passed a half-century of honorable toil in the Consulate at Naples, able to give Bulwer-Lytton helpful points in writing *The Last Days of Pompeii*. He had now reached a period in his distinguished service when he was treated as a privileged character, — transferred to the easier position of the Geneva Consulate, and indulged in a liberty of speech quite rare among subjects of the then-reigning granddaughter of George III. It was usual to receive the toast of the Queen's health in silence. But he responded. In referring to Washington he scouted the idea that any credit was due to America for him. "He was a fine, English country gentleman. He did what any English gentleman was bound to do. Crazy-headed old King! What else could he do but fight him! and fight him he did, and he did it bravely!"

A more striking indication of the change in English feeling towards America came to me on the day in May, 1905, when Ambassador Choate signalled his retirement from the British Embassy by presenting a Harvard Memorial Window to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral of St. Saviour's at Southwark, which stands just across London Bridge from the Houses of Parliament. As we approached this ancient church, where Harvard had been baptised and in which he had worshipped, to my astonishment I saw displayed from the flag-staff on its square, stone tower, a single flag. It was the flag of the United States, and no other national colors were in sight from that point.

Did space permit, I should be tempted to reproduce, in his own words, — so terse, so idiomatic and so characteristic of the man, — the account which Waters has himself given of the discovery of the Harvard connection. The *New England Historic-Genealogical Register* for July, 1885, and the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for June, 1907, tell the story in detail. His methods were his own, and those who appreciate the satisfaction of hard work, long endured, and in the end not unrewarded with valuable results, will find delight in searching these records of his well-spent life.

But this Harvard episode seemed, as I have said, to be a distinct departure from the line of work which he had set himself to do. His ideal method seemed to be to enter some promising field of research and to plough right on, turning up whatever lay hidden under the rich soil. Nothing escaped him, and he made copious notes of every valuable item, so that the mass of undigested matter in the hands of his literary executor, though signifying nothing to the uninitiate, may contain facts which, when brought into their normal relation one with another, will lead to disclosures of antiquarian value. Agassiz, it was said, could evolve a pleiocene monster from a single fish-bone. So a stray date or an isolated fact may prove the key to an unsolved problem. This habit of "browsing," as Waters called it, was so inveterate that he repeatedly ignored the flattering offers of the rich, when they would fain have tempted him aside, at high compensation, to work out for them their old-world lineage. He was never willing to commercialize his gifts to that extent. He regarded them as a trust. As soon would he have asked a pension for his service to the Country.

It is not easy to bring before the reader, in a few words, a long and laborious career the first attribute of which was modesty. Mr. Waters was direct and genuine in every thought, and those who knew him could not misunderstand him. An unremitting worker, it was no part of his aim to get credit for what he did. He had the instinct of the antiquary. Reputation, — remuneration, — these were the last things thought of. What he was in quest of was the exact fact. Give him but that and he was content. I have known him well since 1855, when our late associate, William P. Upham, and I used

to walk down with him from Cambridge over Dana Hill to intercept trains at Revere or Somerville on our way home to Salem. Upham and he developed in later life very kindred lines of work, and pursued much valuable research together in the Essex Institute. One of their projected schemes promised so much in our exhaustless local field that I cannot but regret they should have left it to be executed by less able hands. They proposed to issue maps of Salem drawn at intervals of a generation or so, showing the town as it was, say in 1630, — 1660, — 1690, — and so on, — tracing highways and lanes and farms and homesteads, as the settlement developed, — an undertaking for which I know of no antiquary living so well qualified as they.

I have said that Mr. Waters derived his descent on both sides from that unique and sturdy race of navigators who made the name of Salem a synonym for honesty and energy and ability the world over. It was they who, when the close of the War of Independence found them with their capital invested in fast-sailing privateers, — with their well-trained crews of able seamen, drawn from the best blood of New England, capital and crews now left unemployed, — struck out new lines of traffic for their idle fleet, and opened to this Continent a trade with India of which they kept the control until the railroad-system transferred all foreign commerce from the lesser to the larger ports. It was they who built the great, square, red-brick houses so characteristic of the place, — the chimneys supporting the end-walls and the end-walls supporting the chimneys, — many of them surmounted by a cupola from which to observe the harbor-shipping, — each of them surrounded with an ample garden where the merchant, quitting his nearby counting-room for his mid-day meal, might follow it with an hour's siesta in his hammock, or enjoy his pipe amongst the exotic fruit-trees and flower-beds of his tropical voyaging. Of these mansions the one built on Derby Street overlooking the sea by the paternal grandfather of Mr. Waters, — the birthplace of his father and himself, — was later bought by Captain Bertram and converted to the use of an "Old Man's Home." This ancestor, Captain Joseph Waters, was so competent a seaman that he was chosen, in 1798, by the merchants of Salem, to supervise

the building of the Frigate *Essex*, presented by them to the infant nation, when "Adams and Liberty" was the watchword of the hour, and French insolence was getting past endurance.

The Civil War found Waters not long out of College and engaged in teaching. He was also a member of a drill-club of patriotic young men gathered in anticipation of the threatened assault by the betrayers of the Union. Before long the stress of war became so great that the Club thought it well to enlist as a body, and it was merged in company "F" of the 23rd Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry, in which the founder of it became a Captain. Waters became a Corporal and soon saw active service in North Carolina. He was present at Roanoke Island and at Newbern. On the fall of Newbern, the Federal troops were quartered for a time in abandoned rebel barracks where they encountered sanitary conditions too vile to be described, and where the health of Waters, with that of others, suffered accordingly. He was ordered away to "Academy Green" hospital and, on his partial recovery from yellow fever, being found to be a valuable man for hospital-service, was made clerk and orderly, and retained on duty there. The hospitals were crowded and the medical staff was short-handed. A college-bred man could make himself extremely useful there. In April, 1864, he was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, and remained on duty at the hospital until his honorable discharge at the end of his three years' enlistment, in October. But the War still raged and his work was not done. Resolved not to desert his comrades or his flag, he reëntered the service as a civilian clerk in the Quartermaster's department and remained there, without furlough or respite, serving at Beaufort, S. C., until the Autumn of 1865, when the War was over and he resumed his teaching in Salem. His labors at the Essex Institute were unremitting after he found himself again settled in his ancestral home.

Mr. Waters never married. His interests, outside of his life-work, were indicated, in a way, by his membership of the Twenty-Third Massachusetts Regiment Association, of the American Peace Society, of the Free Trade and the Anti-Imperialist Leagues. He was an honorary member of the

Φ B K and of the Hasty Pudding Club. He was a share-holder in the Salem Athenæum. He was also a member, from 1890, of this Society, and of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society from 1872. He was a devoted lover of music in all its forms, a familiar figure among the bass singers of the Salem Oratorio Society; and, for a number of years during the seventies, he was the clerk and treasurer of the Boston Music Hall Corporation. He was a diligent collector of old furniture when he found it what it purported to be, and he had at one time the best exhibit of this sort known in our section, unless we expect that of his friend, the late George R. Curwen, now at the Essex Institute. His collection included a settle which he supposed might have belonged to Governor Endecott, and also the "Grandfather's Chair" made famous by Hawthorne.

He spent his evenings at the Salem Club, where he was an honorary member and where it was hard to say whether he was the more welcome for his conversation or for his card-playing, and he had living rooms in a fine old mansion at Barton Square, in which General Frederick W. Lander had been born a century before. Here he housed his large and varied mass of books. He died at the Salem Hospital, peacefully and almost painlessly, with scarcely an hour's warning, August 16, 1913, and he rests in the rarely-used little Howard Street Cemetery, amongst the graves of Crowninshields, and Whites, and Stones, and Uptons, and Ropeses, and Landers, and of other National Republican partisans, who had their own places of worship and of entertainment, and their own militia companies, banks and insurance offices, as well as this chosen place of burial, to which they brought from Halifax, with an affluence of pomp, the body of Captain Lawrence, after the fatal disaster to the *Chesapeake*, off Salem harbor. They dominated, to a large extent, the industries, the politics, and the social life of the lower section of the town, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The seemingly impenetrable mystery which so long associated itself with the name of Harvard College has at last yielded to the light. And if almost as much has come to be known of John Harvard as is known of his contemporary and

neighbor, William Shakespeare, the revelation, so welcome to all graduates of the College and to lovers of good learning everywhere, is due to no one person in larger measure than to our unassuming, our untiring, our greatly valued associate, Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters.